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THE PAMPHLET LIBRARY

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LITERARY PAMPHLETS



LITERARY PAMPHLETS

CHIEFLY RELATING TO POETRY

FROM SIDNEY TO BYRON

SELECTED AND ARRANGED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By ERNEST RHYS

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VOLUME I



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PREFATORY NOTE

TO

'THE PAMPHLET LIBRARY'

THE object of *The Pamphlet Library* is to set before readers who are interested in the literary and constitutional history of our country the text of those pamphlets or tractates which, besides possessing the only saving qualities of distinction and style, have also exercised a striking influence upon the current of events. At present five volumes are in contemplation, dealing respectively with pamphlets of political, literary, religious, and dramatic significance, and the editors who have undertaken them have regulated their choice primarily by two considerations. Each pamphlet, it has been held, should have high literary qualities, and should also mark a distinct change or development of taste or standpoint. Unfortunately, the pamphleteer of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not always as brief as he was effective, and the restrictions of space have obliged the omission of some

polemical articles which might possibly have been included with advantage. It is hoped, however, that by means of excerpt and footnote no pamphlet of the first importance has been altogether neglected; and the editors of the various volumes explain in their introductions the reason and the limit of their selections. Concerning the value of the Pamphlet and the expediency of its recension, Dr Johnson himself will be found discoursing with pregnancy and wit in the present volume of our Series, and his strenuous sentences are more than sufficient argument in favour of the present enterprise. For, indeed, Reform is the child of Controversy, and the most effectual arrows in the quiver of Controversy are those of a country's Press. Before the day of the clamouring newspaper, the Pamphlet was the leader of popular taste, so that in a study of these fugitive pieces we may see the features of an Age, as in a glass, may mark its expression, and understand its tendency. As some such footnote to history the following papers have been collected. How far they may prove of value it rests with others to decide.

A. W.

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INTRODUCTION

ACCORDING to Dr. Johnson, 'the Age of Pamphlets' was the reign of Queen Anne ; and he spoke as it were *ex cathedrâ*, from the top of the huge pile of such things heaped up in the Harleian collection. It was then no doubt that small tracts and pamphlets grew and multiplied most ; with Swift and Defoe to spirit their growth, with men and manners, politics and religion, Patridge's wild predictions, and the first disturbing rumours of Berkeley's noble idealism, serving them with no end of ready topics. But Literature itself came less in the pamphleteer's way, relatively speaking, than might have been expected. The literature about literature : the defence of poetry, the maintenance of the liberties of prose, were less pamphleted because there were so many other things to write about, and because there were so many other easy ways of current publication. And so it is, if we are to count by queens, as the accidents of literary history rather compel us to do, we must turn from the days of Queen Anne to those of Queen Elizabeth for the

really great things in the way of the literary pamphlet.

Sidney, Campion, Daniel, Milton : we may group them all about the inner Elizabethan galaxy ; and where again shall we find four such pamphleteers, poets all, writing *ad captandum*, to interest the crowd in the intellectual liberties of the elect ? Taking however the popular view of the pamphlet, and the first idea it naturally suggests to the mind,—that is to say a disputatious weapon, able to damage an opponent at all hazards, at whatever expense of the finer amenities, it will be admitted that the most characteristic examples are not those of what we may call the heroic variety. Swift is perhaps the one supreme example of the pamphleteer, and his pamphlets satisfy the characteristic requirements of the form, as the earlier tracts of a time when prose moved less easily could not do. His ‘Isaac Bickerstaff’ performances are better and more typical instances to take than the *Areopagitica* itself, if one would get at a canon of the pamphlet, such as Dr. Johnson might have approved ; as in truth Milton’s majestic armoury was too great for so light a craft. Granting so much, we are brought to this paradox of the pamphlet : that being essentially a prose im-

plement, having its fullest development in an age of prose, it yet gives us the most superb literary results when written by poets, in an age of poetry.

Of the XVIIIth century men, Swift's pen was too urgent and too political to be devoted often to mere literary polemics. The one example we have from him in these pages, embodying his famous attack on Steele, is political to begin with. Swift and Addison are the only two great prose-writers of that age of prose who contribute ; and Addison's contribution is not a remarkable, or characteristic one, while from Sidney to Wordsworth, we can count ten poets of the first and second order, who serve as prose contributors to this anthology. Oddly enough, however, it is Addison's friend and contemporary, Pope, a poet of an age of prose, who is the only contributor of verse.

But it is the poets who always seem to have been considered as notoriously the pamphleteers, whether on literary or other subjects. In 1641, or three years before the *Areopagitica* appeared, we find in the *Harleian Miscellany* a delicious proof of this, in a squib directed against such forgotten poetasters as Walker, Bray, Harberd. Its title is quite worth the preserving by any collector of such curios :—

‘THE POETS’ KNAVERY DISCOVERED, in all their Lying Pamphlets, wittily and very ingeniously composed, laying open the name of every lying libel that was printed last year, and the Authors who made them ; being above three hundred Lies.’ The text of this choice example is quite in keeping with its title, and the writer’s spirits rise as he turns to throw fresh epithets at the pamphleteers and ballad-mongers—‘political, needy brains, who will thus impoison your pen with such senseless, stigmatic ballad balderdash, as our very street chanters who would warble pleasantly through the nose like an Amsterdam zealot, at the insurrection of the flesh against the spirit, for a pot of Hugg’s ale and a huge subsidy toast, shrug to hear it. . . !’

A little of this serves ; and if we get to straying in the lazy labyrinth of the *Harleian Miscellany* and other such byways, tempted by these figs from the thorn, we shall lose track of our real contributors. But even in the *Harleian Miscellany* and Lord Somers’ collection of tracts, the early beginning of this occasional literature, about the time of Sir Philip Sidney, are easily distinguished ; for then the undergrowth was not so thick as to hide the main drive.

Sir Philip Sidney and his *Apologie* bring us

For 313 years
1272

tribe
that

...
...
...
...

7925 per hundred
weight

~~WATER~~
~~WATER~~
~~WATER~~
~~WATER~~

poetry so often cast in pamphlet form. One of
the very earliest is an essay of George Gas-

coigne's, 'Certaine Notes of Instruction concerning the Makeing of Verse or Rime in Englishe, written at the requeste of Master Edouardo Donati.' Gascoigne is remembered, of course, for other things than this ingenuous piece of prose ; but whether in such poems as 'The Arraignment of a Lover,' from which George Herbert borrowed, and his still more moving 'Lover's Lullaby,' from which Sidney took a line or two, or in such cruder prose as that of the Letter, he had the faculty of opening the gate to more famous wayfarers.

Gascoigne, who was eight years Sidney's senior, died in 1577, and two years later Stephen Gosson blundered into the field with his *Schoole of Abuse*. Two months later again, we find a letter of Spenser's to Gabriel Harvey, dated October 16, 1579, which refers directly to Sidney and his strong feeling about Gosson. The next step, a formal reply to the *Schoole of Abuse*, came naturally, and fortunately in taking it, Sidney disdained the meaner parts of the pamphleteer's equipment, so freely used by Gosson, Lodge, and the rest. Still, Gosson's attack it was that led to our romantic Arcadian's adventure into the higher criticism ; and to Gosson's grotesque mixed pedantry and morality, euphuism and puritanism, and

the rest, we owe it that Sidney cast his *Apologie* on the lines he did.

Between the writing and the publishing of Sidney's reply, an interval of twelve years, the not uncommon argument of the time against rhyme, iterated by Gabriel Harvey and the Areopagites, had been iterated incidentally in that *Discourse* of Webbe's, which was quoted above. Gabriel Harvey, though he failed to convert Spenser, yet left strong traces of his pedantry scattered here and there; and his eccentric influence helps, probably, as much as anything, to account for the flings at rhyme of mere critics like Webbe, or lyric poets like Campion. Webbe, in turn, it is certain from internal evidence, had affected Campion, more than one of whose *Observations* are borrowed from the *Discourse*, and much improved, it need hardly be added, in the process. It is very possible that Campion's attack on rhyme, singular as coming from one of the sweetest rhymers in all English, was written, like Sidney's *Apologie*, long before it was published, and dates from his youth, when he was writing Latin epigrams, and experimenting love-lyrically, first without rhyme and then with it, on the theme of Laura.

'Scornful Laura, swift-foot Laura!'

At any rate, it is easy to shew that Campion was fully aware of the pamphlet-throwing of his contemporaries. In his epigrams he has several flings at Barnabe Barnes ; and Barnes leads us to his antagonist, Nash ; and Nash again to Gabriel Harvey. But it is strange, however one accounts for it, that he should have waited till 1602, either to write or to publish the *Observations* ; for in the previous year the first booke of his Aires (to which Rosseter wrote half the music) had appeared ; and some of his rhymed lyrics in that delightful old music-book make the perfect answer to his argument against rhyme :—

‘Thou art not faire, for all thy red and white,
For all those rosie ornaments in thee ;
Thou art not sweet, though made of meer delight,
Nor faire, nor sweet, unless thou pitie me.
I will not sooth thy fancies : thou shalt prove
That beauty is no beautie without love.

‘Yet love not me, nor seeke thou to allure
My thoughts with beautie, were it more devine :
Thy smiles and kisses I cannot endure,
I’le not be wrapt up in those armes of thine :
Now show it, if thou be a woman right ;
Embrace, and kisse, and love me, in despiht.’

It took as good a rhymers to write so boldly against rhyme. The thing cannot move our indignation as it did Daniel’s ; who seems to have felt it as in some degree a personal affront.

However, he too, like Sidney in the retort to Gosson, rose with the most perfect dignity to the occasion ; first relieving his feelings in his verse pamphlet, perhaps on the whole his finest performance, *Microcosmus* ; and then, some years later, as if this had not sufficed to abate his feeling, and finding possibly a plainer argument required to impress the outsider, in the prose of his *Defence*. If Daniel had done nothing else than these two things, he would stand not only as remarkable among pamphleteers, but as a master of both instruments, considered as the means of expressing a lofty criticism ; one of the hardest things in literature to adjust, as he and Sidney did, to the casual eloquences and current allusions of a literary tract for the times.

Campion's little pamphlet, the tiniest of octavos, may seem rather a trifle now to have attracted so much heat. It was the critical accident of a busy career ; the career of one who was a physician and man of affairs by position, a man of culture, a poet and musician by training and temperament ; and was probably thrown off lightly enough. Indeed Campion, like many poets and authors who have other avocations could hardly, at any time, have taken his literary offices with the profound seriousness that Daniel felt. The title of his

pamphlet, in any case, shows that it was not a very deliberate performance ; also the fact that he casually takes a point from Webbe's *Discourse* on occasion, both in the argument against rhyme and in the manner of illustrating the argument. In the providing of these illustrations directed against rhyme, his *Observations* then resolve themselves mainly into a brief, technical, highly suggestive essay in prosody. In his plea for the use of a classic prosody, he runs his classification of metres into very narrow grooves, and sometimes tends to confuse his *Iambicks* (as in the tripping step of what he terms so happily, the 'English March'), with what we should call *trochaic*. But in this he sins less than Gabriel Harvey, Webbe, and others did before him ; while there are points to be had from him which might be transferred to the most modern prosody. In one respect he shows himself a much less rigid prosodist than one might expect, and in this, too, we have to thank the fact that he was a musician as well as a poet. 'As in Musick,' he says, 'we do not say a straine of so many notes, but so many semi briefes, . . . so in a verse the numeration of the sillables is not so much to be observed as their waite, and due proportion. In joyning of words to harmony, there is .

nothing more offensive to the eare then to place a long sillable with a short note, or a short sillable with a long note, though in the last the vowell often beares it out! The world is made by simmetry and proportion, and is in that respect compared to musick, and musick to poetry.'

It is not so much by his argument, then, as by his illustrations, that his pamphlet counts. Daniel does traverse these, as well as the opening argument, in his reply, in pointing out some of the defects in Campion's forced metres; and one's only regret is that he did not draw up an amended prosody in his turn, for he was peculiarly fitted to accomplish it. But, as he has it, every "grammarian in this land hath learned his *Prosodia*." According to Daniel, the best retort, finally, to the outcry upon rhyme is that the rhymers should be animated to convert the attack into new stimulus; or, as he says, "to bring up all the best of their powers, that the shew of their real forces may turne back insolencie into her owne holde"!

But we pass on from Daniel to the defence of wider liberties than that of rhyme, in the *Areopagitica*. So well known as it is, the most famous of all literary pamphlets, Milton's great tract does not need that one should dwell at

length on its history. But it is well to remember that a whole generation lies between it and Daniel's pamphlet. Meanwhile such influences as those of Bacon, the new Authorised Bible, the Martin Marprelate pamphlets of John Penri and his fellow-sufferers in religious liberty, and the earlier and later secular pamphleteers, like Greene, Lodge, Nash, Dekker and Breton, were all having their effect on the art and fashion of the pamphlet.

From Bacon, indeed, we might have taken his entertaining collect of *Apophthegms*; published in pamphlet form, if not a characteristic example, seeing that it was neither controversial nor representative of its author's style. Failing this, it is not included in these pages. Still earlier, some of the passages of arms in the pamphlet war betwixt Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nash are chock-full of interest of a kind, but hardly bear reprinting in full. If one is following up the line of cleavage betwixt the classic and the British tradition in poetry, however, they are well worth an excursion; and will be found to have their bearing, now on Campion's critical deliverances, now on Milton's classic blank-verse and latinic manner in verse, equally with the most wilful excesses of his tremendous prose.

But it is to his best prose that we come now, among the lucky chances of the pamphlet. There is nothing, in all pamphlet literature, more amazing than the advent of such a prose-writing; with all the superb confusion of English and classic idiom, of heroic and common things, to be found in the style of the *Areopagitica*.

As Milton himself tells us, he wrote it to deliver the press from officious restrictions; that the decision of what was right and wrong, what ought to be published or not, might no longer be in the hands of 'a few illiterate and illiberal individuals, who refused their sanction to any work which contained views or sentiments at all above the level of the vulgar superstition.' To understand what those restrictions were, one ought to read through the decree made 'the eleventh day of July last past 1637,' in *Camera Stellata*; and the orders of the Commons for the 29th January 1641-2 and the 9th March 1641-3, which may be found prefixed to Mr Arber's reprint of the tract. A third order for the 14th June 1643, which he adds, deserves to be more fully quoted, as contributing a very decisive item to the pamphlet's history. The order is stated to be 'for the regulating of printing, and for suppressing the great late abuses and frequent disorders

in printing many false, scandalous, seditious, libellous, and unlicensed *Pamphlets*, to the great defamation of religion and government.' The first of these three orders, pray observe, dates from the same year as that ingenious pamphlet against pamphlets, before quoted, *The Poets' Knavery*. But now came a change in the picture it presented. The 'pot of Huff's ale' and 'huge subsidy toast' are painted out, and with them the three needy ballad-mongers, Walker, Bray, and Harberd, who decorated the middle distance. Instead of them, we find the haughty trumpeter of the *Areopagitica*, whose heroic effect has been so often pointed out to the spectator that no fresh account of him is perhaps necessary. But as attacks on pamphleteering, as well as on the liberty of the press, were rife at the time, it is worth noting that Milton incidentally spoke a word or two in defence of the pamphlet itself, and left one sentence at least which might serve as its permanent motto:—*A wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet than a fool will do of sacred scripture.*

However, into 'the Age of Pamphlets,' as Dr Johnson declared it—into the eighteenth century and the reign of Queen Anne, we step now from the middle of the seventeenth. Milton

is gone, and Dryden has given a new spirit and plasticity to English prose, and made ready for the different poetry which Pope, taking his cue, is to carry to such glittering perfection of style. In science Newton, in philosophy Locke, help the intelligences of the time to a more definite conception of life and a more definite expression of it in literature. All this tends to prose and to the development of a genius for dialectics rather than for poetics. The perfect outcome is Swift, the master spirit of this period, and one of the most brilliant pamphleteers on record. But Swift, both by the pressure of the time and by the temper of his own mind, was led to affairs first and to letters afterwards. Even the pamphlet that represents him here, 'On the Importance of the Guardian,' had a political origin, and its literary colouring only comes by the way. So it is, as if to illustrate again the curious tendency of the literary pamphlet, to use prose in a time of poetry and verse in a time of prose, that the most perfect example, and certainly the most permanently interesting one of the kind in this period, comes not from Swift, but Pope, who supplies us in his 'Essay on Criticism' with our one item in verse.

The *Essay on Criticism*, however, was the first fruits of Pope's maturity, for he matured early ; while Swift's pamphlet on the *Importance of the Guardian*, though published four years later than the *Essay*, belongs to his mid-career, and carries us into a whole range of topics and literary associations which properly go before those of Pope, strictly speaking. It calls up the long story of Swift's intercourse and frequent encounters with his contemporaries, and particularly with Steele ; it takes us into that life of wit and satirical adventure, without which Pope's own susceptibilities would not have been given quite the edge that they gained in the course of his first literary lustrum.

To explain Swift's animus to Steele, and his characteristical expression of it in this *Guardian* pamphlet, it is necessary to revert to the time of Steele's deprivation of his post of gazeteer and to the *Examiner's* abuse of him, attributed in part at least to Swift, which helped to bring about that catastrophe. In reply, in the *Guardian*, No. 53, he alluded to Swift contemptuously, associating him with Mrs Manly. Swift, never slow to move, did not fail to retort ; and, on the whole, he came the best out of the encounter. Steele mean-

while had forgotten his resentment when, being about to be elected M.P. for Stockbridge, and following up an article in the *Guardian*, No. 128, he issued his quarto pamphlet, 'The Importance of Dunkirk considered, in Defence of the *Guardian* of August the 7th; in a Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge'¹ [London: Printed for A. Baldwin in Warwick Lane, 1713].

In the first place, says Steele, addressing the worthy Bailiff with due circumstantiality, I must tell you of 'a printed paper, which was publish'd in *French* on one side, and *English* on the other, and given gratis in the open Streets: a Country Gentleman of my Acquaintance who was going into *Wales* the next Day, receiv'd one of them from a Boy distributing them in *Cheapside*, and made me a Present of it. I will trouble you only with the English.' This sounds very like a plot; but there is more to be said: 'You will find I take up whole Pages in the *Examiner*, and that there is a little Pamphlet written wholly upon me.' Here, perhaps, one ought to remind the reader, that at the Peace of Utrecht, the demolition of Dunkirk was one of the chief articles of the treaty; and this France tried to evade. A

¹ 'The Worshipful Mr John Snow.'

M. Tugghe, thereupon, was sent as deputy to the Queen to beg that the mole and harbour should at least be spared : and to M. Tugghe was due the mysterious printed paper, at which Steele took umbrage. In the *Guardian*, accordingly, he dealt in autocratic tones with M. Tugghe in a letter addressed to 'Nestor Ironside' and signed 'English Tory.' The paper in the *Guardian*, till now (No. 128) an unpolitical organ, attracted vigorous criticism. The *Examiner*, in particular, replied, accusing Steele of treason ; and Steele in turn took up his defence and that of the *Guardian* in the pamphlet we have described. Here was Swift's opportunity, and he used it unscrupulously enough, in his pamphlet 'The importance of the *Guardian* considered,' which was published anonymously on his return from Ireland.

Of the pamphlet itself, since it is here to speak for itself, there is no need to say more, than that its interest for us lies almost wholly in its vindictively clever account of Steele. As for Steele and Addison, one's first thought of Dr Johnson's 'Age of Pamphlets' is naturally of their share in its prolific exuberance, and of the brilliant items to be had from them. But as chance would have it, their literary interests found their natural expression in the *Tatler*,

Spectator, *Guardian*, and so forth ; and their few contributions to pamphlet literature are, like Swift's, mainly political.

For political, one fears, and only political, was that hitherto undistinguished pamphlet of which Johnson tells in his *Life of Savage*, composed at one sitting in "a petty tavern," near Hyde Park Corner, whither Steele had driven his friend in his chariot, early one morning. "What was intended," says Johnson, "Savage could not conjecture;" but on reaching the place, they retired to a private room. Sir Richard then informed him that he intended to publish a pamphlet, and that he had desired him to come thither that he might write for him. They soon sat down to the work. Sir Richard dictated, and Savage wrote, till the dinner that had been ordered was put upon the table. Savage was surprised at the meanness of the entertainment, and after some hesitation ventured to ask for wine, which Sir Richard, not without reluctance ordered it to be brought. They then finished their dinner, and proceeded in their pamphlet, which they concluded in the afternoon."

Savage thought the adventure over, at that ; but "Sir Richard told him, that he was without money, and that the pamphlet must be sold

before the dinner could be paid for." So Savage had to start out, and sell the pamphlet, with some ado, for two guineas. Thereafter the pamphleteers returned home, Steele having "retired that day," concludes Johnson, "only to avoid his creditors, and composed the pamphlet only to discharge his reckoning." It is the best account to be had anywhere, of the writing of a pamphlet under exigences of Bohemia, and it is greatly to be regretted that we do not know what the pamphlet was. But the story calls up, as clearly as the "little Dickey, whose trade it was to write pamphlets," the Sir Richard of those days, who one day outwitted his creditors, and the next put his bailiffs themselves into livery for a dinner-party (for we prefer to believe the story). And Savage makes the predestinate second in the scene: that Savage of whom Johnson tells in the best of all his *Lives*: of a "thin habit of body, a long visage coarse features, melancholy aspect . . . tremulous and mournful voice . . . grave and manly deportment, and solemn dignity of mien, which softened, on a nearer acquaintance, into an engaging uneasiness of manners!"

It must have been about this very time that Steele and Addison were imperilling, near the end of their common history, their old relations

by a last exchange of political squibs : Steele endeavouring, to quote Johnson again, "to alarm the nation by a pamphlet called *The Plebeian*," and Addison replying in *The Old Whig*. Addison died before the final upshot of the politics involved was decided ; and Steele, contrite, rushed to pay the last tribute to his friend. Unfortunately, we have nothing that can be called a literary pamphlet from either which represents them and their familiar day, as their periodical essays do. And as for Addison, we have to be content with the mere crumb from his rich entertainment, afforded by the posthumous pamphlet here reprinted : *A Discussion in Ancient and Modern Learning*. It is a mere accident that this pleasantly pedantic essay came at last to appear in pamphlet guise, as there is no intrinsic reason why it should be given a separate existence, any more than other essays of Addison. But, since we have it, let us make the most of it, and at least have the wit to acknowledge that it affords a very good reply, in advance, to Macaulay's strictures on Addison's classical attainments ; which were perhaps originally only an echo of Dr. Johnson's, who however allowed him an acquaintance with the Latin poets, in one passage, and quite sufficiently praised "his

Latin verses on the peace of Ryswick" in another. For the rest, it makes an excellent pilot, by reason of its classic colours and the associations it calls up in connecting Addison with Pope, to the latter's *Essay on Criticism*, with which we feel the eighteenth century to be marking out its definite rôle, both in criticism and poetry. That it is Pope quite at his best, seeing that he first wrote it as a boy of twenty-one, there is no need to maintain. But it is full of his art. Previously, he had only written his *Pastorals*, which, after some considerable delay, appeared in Tonson's *Sixth Miscellany* (1709). By this time, too, the *Essay on Criticism* was ready ; but he kept it by him until 1711, touching and retouching, correcting and concentrating it. At last it was published, anonymously ; and when the authorship leaked out, as it did very soon, it created as much envy, hatred, and admiration, as ever fell to the lot of either poem or critical manifesto by a poet, new or old, old or young. Addison's quondam foe, John Dennis, particularly, who was satirised by Pope as " Appius," was furious, and did not fail to use the energy that his fury generated. To account for the colourable allusions to men like Dennis, we may yet again have recourse to Johnson's *Lives*. Pope,

he tells us, "began at seventeen to frequent Will's, a coffee-house on the north side of Russell-street, in Covent-garden, where the wits of that time used to assemble, and where Dryden had, when he lived, been accustomed to preside." As pretty 'a little Academe,' and as apt a pupil, as we shall find in hunting through the history of the pamphlet. Dr. Johnson's praise of the *Essay on Criticism* is autocratical enough, too, to be quoted: "It displays," he writes, "such extent of comprehension, such nicety of distinction, such acquaintance with mankind, and such knowledge both of ancient and modern learning, as are not often attained by the maturest age and longest experience." There was a gouty coarseness in Dennis's reply, as may be seen in the same pages of Dr. Johnson, which prevents it being quoted except in piecemeal. "Enquire," he said, "for a young, short, squab gentleman, the very bow of the God of Love, and tell me whether he be a proper author to make personal reflections!" Even this is not enough. "It is impossible," he goes on to say, "that his outward form, though it be that of a downright monkey, should differ so much from human shape as his unthinking immaterial part does from human understanding." So much, it is

well, perhaps, to recall of poor Dennis and his critical tantrums, because it so well explains the power that Pope had to irritate and provoke personal hostilities—a power that long outlasted his own life. A full century later, it led to one of the most extraordinary pamphlet warfares ever set going, thro' Bowles's strictures on our hero in the edition of his works published in 1806.

In the Appendix to the present volume will be found a brief sequence of passages from Bowles's original reflections on Pope, and his later retort to Byron's famous pamphlet, the *Letter to John Murray*. These so far speak for themselves, that I do not know that it is necessary to add much to the account they palpably give of themselves. Of Byron's worship for Pope, we do not need this particular evidence to inform us; it is written plainly enough in many a page of his works; in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, itself a verse pamphlet clearly inspired; and in his *Letters*, which, now being republished, still have the power, it seems, of proving provocative.

In the *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, Bowles is already arraigned by Byron for his strictures on Pope :

"Bowles ! in thy memory let this precept dwell,
Stick to thy sonnets, man !—at least they sell !

* * * * *

If Pope, whose fame and genius, from the first,
Have foil'd the best of critics, needs the worst,
Do thou essay : each fault, each failing scan ;
The first of poets was alas ! but man.
Rake from each ancient dunghill every pearl,
Consult Lord Fanny, and confide in Curll."

In his 'Concluding observations on the poetic character of Pope,' in his 10th volume, Bowles postulates that all images drawn from what is beautiful or sublime in the works of NATURE are more beautiful and sublime than any images drawn from ART ; and that they are therefore, *per se*, more poetical. In applying this dictum to Pope, he cannot be said to show any particular tendency to be hypercritical. He cites the epistle of Eloisa as an 'exquisite performance which seems to stand as the boundary between the poetry derived from the great and primary feelings of nature, and that derived from Art.' In other passages he grows more provocative, as in the following, which Byron found particularly offensive. 'When Pope,' says Bowles, 'left his own laurel circus at Twickenham, he was lifted into his chariot or his barge ; with weak eyes and tottering strength, it is physically impossible he could be

a descriptive Bard.' In this and other places, earlier and later, in the long dispute that followed, Bowles, no doubt, lays himself open to hostile rejoinders. But it is usually his foolish, fussy, edifying manner which is to blame, rather than his matter. When Byron asserts that 'the poet always ought to be ranked according to his execution;' and Bowles that the true test is subject and execution combined; we cannot doubt which of the two is right, but Bowles's bumptious absurdities of expression make it hard to believe him as intelligent as he is. In turn Byron stultified himself after saying that execution alone is the test, by going on to add that the 'highest of all poetry is ethical poetry, as the highest of all earthly objects must be moral truth.' So the argument is continued; now the poet has it, now the pedant (for Bowles's poetry we are apt in this connexion to forget).

To follow it throughout is beyond the patience of anyone now, I imagine, after three-quarters of a century. One has to ransack Bowles's edition of Pope, and especially his life in the first volume and his essay on the 'poetic character of Pope' in the ninth. Then come Campbell's *Specimens of the British Poets*, with his references to Bowles and Pope, in his preamble to the book;

and then again the *Pamphleteer*, beginning with volume xvii. (1820) full of Bowles's reiterations, where one soon gets hopelessly involved. Take, *e.g.*, "A reply to the charges brought by the reviewer of Spence's anecdotes in the *Quarterly Review* for October 1820 against the last editor of Pope's works, and author of 'a letter to Mr Campbell,' on 'the Invariable Principles of Poetry.'

*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli."*

Follow it with a further small instalment of "Observations on the Poetical Character of Pope" further elucidating the "Invariable Principles," &c. Then proceed to the more essential part of the dispute contained in the "Two Letters to the Right Honorable Lord Byron," passages of which appear at the end of this volume; only to find further vistas of interminable rejoinder opening out in further volumes of the *Pamphleteer*, until in vol. xx. one comes upon more "Letters to Mr T. Campbell," subscribed, if you please, "Second Editions together with an Answer to some Objections and Further Illustrations," &c. And remember this is all Bowles. We have said nothing of his vigorous assailant, Octavius Gilchrist, who appears

early on the scene, or of "Mr M'Dermot," who appears late—a quite superfluous guest! With one's patience, at last, perfectly exhausted, it is hard to acknowledge that Bowles really had, on the whole, the best of the argument; and that Byron's share in the dispute is more interesting, because of his violent loyalty to Pope, than for any sense of reasoned criticism that he displays.

The whole thing resolves itself largely into a question of how far poetry is to base itself on nature. Pope had said virtually in his *Essay on Criticism*—Follow nature, but beware of taking nature at first hand:

"First follow nature, and your judgement frame
By her just standard which is still the same:"

he says, in one famous passage, seeming to give the case to the side of Bowles, but he well qualifies it afterwards.

Thus we are led by an easy transition to that later famous master of the natural in poetry, whom also Byron attacked, whether directly or inferentially, in his prose and verse pamphlets: Wordsworth, whose *Letter to a Friend of Burns* ends our anthology. The *Letter* was prompted avowedly by Dr Currie's *Life of Burns*, whose offensive criticism may

be gathered from Wordsworth's quotations. But one should quite as much read the 'Edinburgh Review' article by Jeffrey, beginning, 'Burns is certainly by far the greatest of our poetical prodigies—from Stephen Duck down to Thomas Dermody;' at the end of whose pages there are some strictures bearing still on the question of Nature *v.* Art, and levelled directly at Wordsworth. 'One other remark,' writes Jeffrey, 'is of a more limited application, and is addressed chiefly to the followers and patrons of that new school of poetry against which we have thought it our duty to neglect no opportunity of testifying. These gentlemen are outrageous for simplicity, and we beg leave to recommend to them the simplicity of Burns. They may look long enough among his nervous and manly lines before they find any Good lacks! Dear hearts! or As a body may say! in them, or any stuff about dancing daffodils and sister Emmelines. Let them think with what infinite contempt the powerful mind of Burns would have perused the story of Alice Fell and her duffle cloak, of Andrew Jones and the half-crown, or of Little Dan without breeches and his thievish grandfather. Let them contrast their own hysterical schoolmasters and

sententious leechgatherers with the authentic rustics of Burns's *Cotter's Saturday Night* and his inimitable songs.'

A quantum of this, added to the current criticism levelled at Burns, was enough to rouse even Wordsworth to reply as he did. His *Letter*, however, had nothing of the publicity that Currie's or Jeffrey's attacks had. We learn from the *Memoirs* by Christopher Wordsworth (vol. ii., p. 87) that only 500 copies were printed of it. Professor Knight's *Memoir* gives one or two interesting references by the poet himself. In a letter of June 11, 1816, he writes:—'All men ought to be judged with charity and forbearance after death has put it out of their power to explain the motives of their actions, and especially men of acute sensibility and lively passions. This was the scope of my letter to Mr Gray. Burns has been cruelly used, both dead and alive.' Again, writing in April 9, 1816 [Rydal Mount], in another letter, he says, after speaking of a new book of poems:—'I have also sent to press a letter in prose, occasioned by an intended republication of Dr Currie's *Life of Burns*. When these little things will be permitted to see the light I know not; and as the publisher has not even condescended to acknow-

ledge the receipt of the manuscripts which were sent three weeks ago, you may judge from this of the value which the goods of the author of *The Excursion* at present bear in the estimation of the trade. *N'importe*; if we have done well, we shall not miss our reward."

It is significant, perhaps, that both our last contributors, Byron and Wordsworth, speaking over the graves of two great poets, Pope and Burns, should have used the form of a letter for their pamphlets. It may be thought to show a growing disinclination to use the pamphlet openly and deliberately in a controversy of the kind, or to recognise it as a literary form open to the greatest and the least alike. This as it may be: with the growth of the quarterly and monthly reviews, the pamphlet has fallen rather out of use. Only one instance, in which two of our famous living poets engaged, not over past but living reputations, can be cited in our own time. And *The Fleshly School of Poetry* and *Under the Microscope* afford so stray an instance that it only proves into how hopeless a predicament the pamphlet has at last fallen. The 'Age of Pamphlets,' it seems, then, is altogether past; and we are lucky to have

for our latest pamphleteers two poets whose fames or whose topics, whether by reason of centenary celebrations or of new great editions, are still so full for us of lively contemporary interest.

E. R.

I

AN ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN AND IMPORTANCE OF SMALL TRACTS AND FUGITIVE PIECES. By Dr SAMUEL JOHNSON.¹

THOUGH the Scheme of the following *Miscellany* is so obvious, that the Title alone is sufficient to explain it; and though several Collections have been formerly attempted upon Plans, as to the Method, very little, but, as to the Capacity and Execution, very different from Ours; we, being possessed of the greatest Variety for such a Work, hope for a more general Reception than those confined Schemes had the Fortune to meet with; and, therefore think it not wholly unnecessary to explain our Intentions, to display the Treasure of Materials out of which this *Miscellany* is to be compiled, and to exhibit a general Idea of the Pieces which we intend to insert in it.

¹ 'Written for the Introduction to *The Harleian Miscellany*,' or a collection of scarce, curious, and entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, as well in Manuscript as in Print, found in the late Earl of Oxford's Library. (London: Printed for T. Osborne, in Gray's Inn, MDCCXLIV.)

There is, perhaps, no Nation in which it is so necessary, as in our own, to assemble from Time to Time, the *small* Tracts and *fugitive* Pieces which are occasionally published: For, besides the general Subjects of Enquiry, which are cultivated by us, in common with every other learned Nation, our Constitution in Church and State naturally gives Birth to a Multitude of Performances, which would either not have been written, or could not have been made publick in any other Place.

The *Form* of our *Government*, which gives every Man, that has Leisure, or Curiosity, or Vanity, the Right of enquiring into the propriety of publick Measures, and, by Consequence, obliges those who are intrusted with the Administration of *National* Affairs, to give an Account of their Conduct to almost every Man who demands it, may be reasonably imagined to have occasioned *innumerable* Pamphlets,¹ which would never have appeared under *arbitrary* Governments, where every Man lulls himself in Indolence under Calamities, of which he cannot promote the Redress, or

¹ 'Pamphlet [*par un filet*, Fr., whence this word is written anciently, and by Caxton *paunflet*.] A small book, properly a book sold unbound, and only stitched.' Johnson's Dictionary.

thinks it prudent to conceal the Uneasiness, of which he cannot complain without Danger.

The Multiplicity of *Religious Sects* tolerated among us, of which every one has found Opponents and Vindicators, is another Source of unexhaustible Publication, almost peculiar to ourselves ; for *Controversies* cannot be long continued, nor frequently revived, where an *Inquisitor* has a Right to shut up the Disputants in Dungeons ; or where Silence can be imposed on either Party, by the Refusal of a *License*.

Not, that it should be inferred from hence, that *Political* or *Religious* Controversies are the only products of the *Liberty* of the *British Press* ; the Mind once let loose to Enquiry, and suffered to operate without Restraint, necessarily deviates into peculiar Opinions, and wanders in new Tracks, where she is, indeed, sometimes lost in a Labyrinth, from which tho' she cannot return, and scarce knows how to proceed ; yet, sometimes, makes useful Discoveries, or finds out nearer Paths to Knowledge.

The boundless Liberty with which every Man may write his own Thoughts, and the Opportunity of convey¹ing new Sentiments to

¹ *Sic*. The word is spelt convey in Johnson's Dictionary.

the Publick, without Danger of suffering either Ridicule or Censure,¹ which every Man may enjoy whose Vanity does not incite him too hastily to own his Performances, naturally invites those who employ themselves in Speculation, to try how their Notions will be received by a Nation, which exempts Caution from Fear, and Modesty from Shame ; and it is no Wonder, that where Reputation may be gained, but needs not be lost, Multitudes are willing to try their Fortune, and thrust their Opinions into the Light ; sometimes with unsuccessful Haste, and sometimes with happy Temerity.

It is observed, that among the Natives of *England*, is to be found a greater Variety of Humour,² than in any other Country ; and, doubtless, where every Man has a full Liberty to propagate his Conceptions, Variety of Humour must produce Variety of Writers ; and, where the Number of Authors is so great, there cannot but be some worthy of Distinction.

All these, and many other Causes, too tedious to be enumerated, have contributed to make *Pamphlets* and *small Tracts* a very important Part of an *English* Library ; nor are there any

¹ It was now some forty years since Defoe went to prison for a pamphlet.

² 'Humour. General Turn, or Temper of Mind.' Johnson's Dictionary.

Pieces, upon which those, who aspire to the Reputation of *judicious* Collectors of Books, bestow more Attention or greater Expence; because many Advantages may be expected from the Perusal of these small Productions, which are scarcely to be found in that of larger Works.

If we regard *History*, it is well known, that most *Political* Treatises have for a long Time appeared in this Form, and that the first Relations of Transactions, while they are yet the Subject of Conversation, divide the Opinions, and employ the Conjectures of Mankind, are delivered by these *petty* Writers, who have Opportunities of collecting the different Sentiments of Disputants, of inquiring the Truth from living Witnesses, and of copying their Representations from the Life; and, therefore, they preserve a Multitude of particular Incidents, which are forgotten in a short Time, or omitted in formal Relations, and which are yet to be considered as Sparks of Truth, which, when united, may afford Light in some of the darkest Scenes of State, as, we doubt not, will be sufficiently proved in the course of this *Miscellany*, and which it is, therefore, the *Interest* of the Publick to preserve unextinguished.

The same Observation may be extended to

Subjects of yet more importance. In Controversies that relate to the Truths of Religion, the first essays of Reformation are generally temerous ; and those, who have Opinions to offer, which they expect to be opposed, produce their Sentiments by Degrees, and, for the most Part, in *small Tracts* : by Degrees, that they may not shock their Readers with too many Novelties at once ; and in *small Tracts*, that they may be easily dispersed, or privately printed. Almost every Controversy, therefore, has been, for a time, carried on in Pamphlets, nor has swelled into larger Volumes, till the first Ardor of the Disputants has subsided, and they have recollected their Notions with Coolness enough to digest them into Order, consolidate them into Systems, and fortify them with Authorities.

From *Pamphlets*, consequently, are to be learned the *Progress* of every Debate ; the various state to which the questions have been changed ; the Artifices and Fallacies which have been used, and the Subterfuges by which Reason has been eluded. In such Writings may be seen how the Mind has been opened by Degrees, how one Truth has led to another, how Error has been disentangled, and Hints improved to Demonstration. Which Pleasure,

and many others, are lost by him that only reads the *Larger Writers*, by whom these scattered Sentiments are collected, who will see none of the Changes of Fortune which every opinion has passed through, will have no Opportunity of remarking the transient Advantages which Error may sometimes obtain, by the Artifices of its Patron, or the successful Rallies, by which Truth regains the Day, after a Repulse; but will be to him, who traces the Dispute through into particular Gradations, as he that hears of a Victory, to him that sees the Battle.

Since the Advantages of preserving these *small Tracts* are so numerous, our Attempt to unite them in Volumes cannot be thought either *useless* or *unseasonable*; for there is *no other* Method of securing them from Accidents; and they have already been so long neglected, that this Design cannot be delayed, without hazarding the loss of many Pieces, which deserve to be transmitted to another Age.

The Practice of publishing Pamphlets on the most important Subjects has now prevailed more than *two Centuries* among us; and, therefore, it cannot be doubted, but that, as no large Collections have been yet made, many curious Tracts must have perished; but it is too

late to lament that Loss; nor ought we to reflect upon it, with any other View, than that of quickening our Endeavours for the Preservation of those that yet remain; of which we have now a greater Number, than was, perhaps, ever amassed by any one Person.

The first Appearance of Pamphlets among us is generally thought to be at the new Opposition raised against the Errours and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*.¹ Those who were first convinced of the Reasonableness of the *New Learning*, as it was then called, propagated their Opinions in small Pieces, which were cheaply printed, and, what was then of great Importance, easily concealed. These Treatises were generally printed in foreign Countries, and are not, therefore, always very correct. There was not then that Opportunity of printing in *private*; for the number of Printers was small, and the Presses were easily overlooked by the Clergy, who spared no Labour or Vigilance for the suppression of *Heresy*. There is, however, Reason to suspect, that some Attempts were made to carry on the Propagation of Truth by a Secret Press; for

¹ The *Harleian Miscellany* contains a rich crop of such tracts:—*e.g.*, ‘The very Beggars’ Petition against Popery’ (1538).

one of the first Treatises in Favour of the Reformation, is said, at the End, to be printed *at Greenwich, by the Permission of the Lord of Hosts.*

In the Time of *King Edward the Sixth*, the Presses were employed in Favour of the Reformed Religion, and *small Tracts* were dispersed over the Nation, to reconcile them to new Forms of Worship. In this Reign, likewise, *Political Pamphlets* may be said to have begun, by the Address of the Rebels of Devonshire;¹ all which means of propagating the Sentiments of the People so disturbed the Court, that no sooner was Queen *Mary* resolved to reduce her subjects to the *Romish* Superstition, but she artfully by a *Charter*,² granted to certain Freemen of London, in whose Fidelity, no doubt, she confided, entirely prohibited *all* Presses, but what should be licensed by them; which Charter is that by which the Corporation of Stationers in London is, at this time, incorporated.

¹ “A cōpye of a Letter containing certayne newes, and the articles or requestes of the Devonshyre & Cornyshe rebelles.” (Saint Mary Otery : MDXLIX.). B. L.

² Which begins thus, ‘KNOW YE, that WE, considering and manifestly perceiving, that several *seditions* and *heretical* Books or Tracts—against the Faith and sound Catholick doctrine of holy mother, the Church,’ &c.

Under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when Liberty again began to flourish, the Practice of writing Pamphlets became more general; Presses were multiplied, and Books were dispersed; and, I believe, it may properly be said, that the *Trade of Writing* began at this Time, and that it has, ever since, gradually increased in the Number, though, perhaps, not in the Style of those that followed it.

In this Reign was erected the first *secret* Press against the Church, as now Established, of which I have found any certain Account. It was employed by the *Puritans*, and conveyed from one Part of the Nation to another, by them, as they found themselves in Danger of Discovery. From this Press issued most of the Pamphlets against Whitgift¹ and his Associates, in the Ecclesiastical Government; and, when it was at last seized at Manchester,² it was employed upon a Pamphlet called MORE WORK FOR A COOPER.³

¹ Archbishop Whitgift;—Queen Elizabeth's Chaplain; and a great opponent of the Puritans (1530-1603).

² In August 1589. It was seized at Newton Lane, Manchester.

³ One of the famous Mar-Prelate tracts; and written, or inspired, by John Penn; who died for his Puritan opinions, in 1593, still a young man. (The title of the tract comes from the old London Street cry, used by Itinerant Coopers.)

In the peaceable Reign of King James, those Minds which might, perhaps, with less Disturbance of the World, have been engrossed by War, were employed *in* Controversy; and Writings of all Kinds were Multiplied among us. The Press, however, was not wholly engaged in Polemical Performances, for more innocent Subjects were sometimes treated; and it deserves to be remarked, because it is not generally known, that the Treatises of Husbandry and Agriculture, which were published about that time, are so numerous, that it can scarcely be imagined by whom they were written, or to whom they were sold.

The next Reign is too well known to have been a time of Confusion and Disturbance, and Disputes of every Kind; and the Writings, which were produced, bear a natural Proportion to the Number of the Questions that were discussed at that Time; each Party had its Authors and its Presses, and no Endeavours were omitted to gain Proselytes to every Opinion. I know not whether this may not properly be called, *The Age of Pamphlets*; for, though they, perhaps, may not arise to such Multitudes as Mr Rawlinson¹ imagined, they were, undoubtedly, more

¹ Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755) founder of the Rawlinson Anglo-Saxon lectureship at Oxford: author of

numerous than can be conceived by any who have not had an Opportunity of examining them.

After the Restoration, the same Differences, in Religious Opinions, are well known to have subsisted, and the same Political Struggles to have been frequently renewed ; and, therefore, a great Number of Pens were employed, on different Occasions, till, at length, all other Disputes were absorbed in the *Popish* Controversy.

From the Pamphlets which these different Periods of Time produced, it is proposed, that this Miscellany shall be compiled, for which it cannot be supposed that Materials will be wanting ; and, therefore, the only Difficulty will be in what Manner to dispose them.

Those who have gone before us, in Undertakings of this Kind, have ranged the Pamphlets, which Chance threw into their Hands, without any Regard either to the Subject on which they treated, or the Time in which they were written ; a Practice in no wise to be imitated by us, who want for no Materials ; of which we shall choose those we think best for the *Particular* Circumstances of *Times* and *Things*, and most instructing and entertaining to the Reader.

The English Topographer, &c. He was a great collector of pamphlets, and at his death some 20,000 were sold by auction, with his library.

Of the different Methods which present themselves, upon the first View of the great Heaps of Pamphlets which the *Harleian Library* exhibits,¹ the two which merit most Attention are, to distribute the Treatises according to their *Subjects*, or their *Dates*; but neither of these Ways can be conveniently followed. By ranging our Collection in *Order of Time*, we must necessarily publish those Pieces first which least engage the Curiosity of the Bulk of Mankind; and our Design must fall to the Ground for Want of Encouragement, before it can be so far advanced as to obtain general Regard. By confining ourselves for any long time to any *Single Subject*, we shall reduce our Readers to one Class; and, as we shall lose all the Grace of Variety, shall disgust all those who read chiefly to be diverted. There is, likewise, one Objection of equal Force, against both these Methods, that we shall preclude ourselves from the advantage of any future Discoveries; and we cannot hope to assemble at once all the Pam-

¹ 'The Pamphlets in the Harleian Collection amounted in Number to about 400,000. (See Gough's Brit. Topog., 1669).' This is probably a decimal exaggeration. Oldys only quotes 548 items in his select catalogue, which is described as 'copious and exact.' But Carlyle says, in his 'Cromwell,' that there are from 36-50,000 pamphlets of the Civil War in the B. Museum.

phlets which have been written in any Age, or on any Subject.

It may be added, in vindication of our intended Practice, that it is the same with that of *Photius*,¹ whose Collections are no less miscellaneous than ours, and who declares, that he leaves it to his Reader, to reduce his Extracts under their proper Heads.

Most of the Pieces which shall be offered in this Collection to the Publick, will be introduced by short Prefaces, in which will be given some Account of the Reasons for which they are inserted ; Notes will be sometimes adjoined for the Explanation of obscure Passages, or obsolete Expressions ; and Care will be taken to mingle Use and Pleasure through the whole Collection. Notwithstanding every Subject may not be relished by *every Reader*, yet the Buyer may be assured that each Number will repay his generous Subscription.

¹ Photius (d. 891 A.D.), Patriarch of Constantinople ; author of *Myriobiblon*, &c.

II

AN APOLOGIE FOR POETRIE. Written
by the right noble, vertuous, and learned
*Sir PHILLIP SIDNEY, Knight.*¹

Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo.

TO THE READER [OLNEY'S PREFACE]

THE stormie Winter (deere Chyldren of the Muses, which hath so long held backe the glorious Sunshine of diuine Poesie, is heere by the sacred pen-breathing words of diuine Sir *Philip Sidney*, not onely chased from our fame-inuiting Clyme, but vtterly for euer banisht eternitie: then graciously regreet the perpetuall spring of euer-growing inuention, and like kinde Babes, either enabled by wit or power, help to support me poore Midwife, whose daring aduenture, hath deliuered from Obliuions wombe, this euer-to-be-admired wits miracle. Those great ones, who in themselues haue interr'd this blessed innocent, wil with *Aejculapius* condemne me as a detractor from

¹ At London, Printed for *Henry Olney*, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the George, neere to Cheap-gate. Anno. 1595.

their Deities : those who Prophet-like haue but heard presage of his coming, wil (if they wil doe wel) not onely defend, but praise mee, as the first publike bewrayer of Poesies *Messias*. Those who neither haue seene, thereby to interre, nor heard, by which they might be inflamed with desire to see, let them (of duty) plead to be my Champions, sith both theyr sight and hearing, by mine incurring blame is seasoned. Excellent Poesie, (so created by this Apologie) be thou my Defendresse ; and if any wound mee, let thy beautie (my soules Adamant) recure mee : if anie commend mine endeouored hardiment, to them commend thy most diuine fury as a winged incouragement ; so shalt thou haue deuoted to thee, and to them obliged

HENRY OLNEY.

When the right vertuous *Edward Wotton*,¹ and I, were at the Emperors² Court together, wee gave our selves to learne horsemanship of *John Pietro Pugliano* :³ one that with great commendation had the place of an Esquire in

¹ Elder brother of the poet, Sir Henry Wotton ; and himself knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made Lord Wotton, Baron of Merley, by King James.

² Maximilian II.

³ The 'Gasconading Pugliano' was one of Maximilian's equerries, and an almost proverbially familiar figure at his court.

his stable. And hee, according to the fertlilnes of the Italian wit, did not onely afoord us the demonstration of his practise, but sought to enrich our mindes with the contemplations therein, which hee thought most precious. But with none I remember mine eares were at any time more loden, then when (either angred with slowe paiment, or mooved with our learner-like admiration,) he exercised his speech in the prayse of his facultie. Hee sayd, Souldiours were the noblest estate of man-kinde, and horsemen, the noblest of Souldiours. Hee sayde, they were the Maisters of warre, and ornaments of peace: speedy goers, and strong abiders, triumphers both in Camps and Courts. Nay, to so unbeleeved a poynt hee proceeded, as that no earthly thing bred such wonder to a Prince, as to be a good horseman. Skill of government, was but a Pedanteria¹ in comparison: then would hee adde certaine prayses, by telling what a peerlesse beast a horse was. The onely serviceable Courtier without flattery, the beast of most beutie, faithfulness, courage, and such more, that if I had not beene a peece of a Logician before I came to him, I think he would have perswaded mee to have wished my selfe a horse. But

¹ A child's lesson; a school-task.

thus much at least with his no few words hee drave into me, that selfe-love is better than any guilding to make that seeme gorgeous, wherein our selves are parties. Wherein, if *Pugliano* his strong affection and weake arguments will not satisfie you, I wil give you a neerer example of my selfe, who (I knowe not by what mischance) in these my not old yeres and idelest times, having slipt into the title of a Poet, am provoked to say somthing unto you in the defence of that my unelected vocation, which if I handle with more good will then good reasons, beare with me, sith the scholler is to be pardoned that foloweth the steppes of his Maister. And yet I must say, that as I have just cause to make a pittiful defence of poore Poetry, which from almost the highest estimation of learning, is fallen to be the laughingstocke of children. So have I need to bring some more availeable proofes: sith the former is by no man barred of his deserved credite, the silly latter hath had even the names of Philosophers used to the defacing of it, with great danger of civill war among the Muses. And first, truly to al them that professing learning inveigh against Poetry, may justly be objected, that they goe very neer to ungratfulnes, to seek to deface that, which in

the noblest nations and languages that are knowne, hath been the first light-giver to ignorance, and first Nurse, whose milk by little and little enabled them to feed afterwards of tougher knowledges: and will they now play the Hedghog, that being received into the den, drave out his host? or rather the Vipers, that with theyr birth kill their Parents? Let learned Greece in any of her manifold Sciences, be able to shew me one booke, before *Musæus*, *Homer*, and *Hesiodus*, all three nothing els but Poets. Nay, let any historie be brought, that can say any Writers were there before them, if they were not men of the same skil, as *Orpheus*, *Linus*, and some other are named: who having beene the first of that Country, that made pens deliverers of their knowledge to their posterity, may justly challenge to bee called their Fathers in learning: for not only in time they had this priority (although in it self antiquity be venerable) but went before them, as causes to drawe with their charming sweetnes, the wild untamed wits to an admiration of knowledge. So as *Amphion* was sayde to move stones with his Poetrie, to build Thebes. And *Orpheus* to be listened to by beastes, indeed, stony and beastly people. So among the Romans were *Livius Andronicus*,

and *Ennius*. So in the Italian language, the first that made it aspire to be a Treasure-house of Science, where the Poets *Dante*, *Boccace*, and *Petrarch*. So in our English were *Gower* and *Chawcer*.

After whom, encouraged and delighted with theyr excellent fore-going, others have followed, to beautifie our mother tongue, as wel in the same kinde as in other Arts. This did so notably shewe it selfe, that the Phylosophers of Greece, durst not a long time appeare to the worlde but under the masks of Poets. So *Thales*, *Empedocles*, and *Parmenides*, sange their naturall Phylosophie in verses : so did *Pythagoras* and *Phocilides* ¹ their morral counsells : so did *Tirteus* in war matters, and *Solon* in matters of policie : or rather, they beeing Poets, dyd exercise their delightful vaine in those points of highest knowledge, which before them lay hid to the world. For that wise *Solon* was directly a Poet, it is manifest, having written in verse, the notable fable of the Atlantick Iland,² which was continued by *Plato*.

¹ Phocylides of Miletus, 550-500 B.C., one of the Greek didactic poets.

² The poem is only known by Plato's reference to it, in his 'Timæus' and 'Critias.' The island, one of great importance, was supposed to lie beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and to disappear suddenly one night.

And truely, even *Plato*, whosoever well considereth, shall find, that in the body of his work, though the inside and strength were Philosophy, the skinne as it were and beautie, depended most of Poetrie : for all standeth upon Dialogues, wherein he faineth many honest Burgesses of Athens to speake of such matters, that if they had been sette on the racke, they would never have confessed them. Besides, his poetical describing the circumstances of their meetings, as the well ordering of a banquet, the delicacie of a walke, with enterlacing meere tales, as *Giges* Ring, and others, which who knoweth not to be flowers of Poetrie, did never walke into *Apollos* Garden.

And even Historiographers, (although theyr lippes sounde of things doone, and veritie be written in theyr fore-heads,) have been glad to borrow both fashion, and perchance weight of Poets. So *Herodotus* entituled his Historie, by the name of the nine Muses : and both he and all the rest that followed him, either stole or usurped of Poetrie, their passionate describing of passions, the many particularities of battailes, which no man could affirme : or if that be denied me, long Orations put in the mouthes of great Kings and Captaines, which it is

certaine they never pronounced. So that truly, neyther Phylosopher nor Historiographer, coulde at the first have entred into the gates of populer judgements, if they had not taken a great pasport of Poetry, which in all Nations at this day wher learning florisheth not, is plaine to be seene: in all which they have some feeling of Poetry. In Turkey, besides their lawe-giving Divines, they have no other Writers but Poets. In our neighbour Countrey Ireland, where truelie learning goeth very bare, yet are theyr Poets held in a devoute reverence. Even among the most barbarous and simple Indians where no writing is, yet have they their Poets, who make and sing songs which they call *Areytos*, both of theyr Auncestors deedes, and praises of theyr Gods. A sufficient probabilitie, that if ever learning come among them, it must be by having theyr hard dull wits softened and sharpened with the sweete delights of Poetrie. For untill they find a pleasure in the exercises of the minde, great promises of much knowledge, will little perswade them, that knowe not the fruites of knowledge. In Wales, the true remnant of the auncient Brittons, as there are good authorities to shewe the long time they had Poets, which they called *Bardes*: so thorough all the conquests of

Romaines, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, some of whom did seeke to ruine all memory of learning from among them, yet doo their Poets even to this day, last ; so as it is not more notable in soone beginning then in long continuing.¹ But since the Authors of most of our Sciences were the Romans, and before them the Greekes, let us a little stand upon their authorities, but even so farre as to see, what names they have given unto this now scorned skill.

Among the Romans a Poet was called *Vates*, which is as much as a Diviner, fore-seer, or Prophet, as by his conjoynd wordes *Vaticinium* and *Vaticinari*, is manifest : so heavenly a title did that excellent people bestow upon his hart-ravishing knowledge. And so farre were they carried into the admiration thereof, that they thought in the chaunceable hitting upon any such verses, great fore-tokens of their following fortunes were placed. Whereupon grew the worde of *Sortes Virgilianæ*, when by suddaine opening *Virgils* booke,² they lighted upon any

¹ Welsh poetry was, however, suffering a decline at this time. Sidney's Letters to Languet shew that he had a rather unusual interest in Welsh literature. He refers more than once to discussions of Humphrey Lloyd's History, with his servant, Griffin Madox.

² If Sidney had lived in our day, he might have cited the same practice, in regard to our Bible.

verse of hys making, whereof the histories of the Emperors lives are full, as of *Albinus*¹ the Governour of our Iland, who in his childehoode mette with this verse

Arma amens capio nec sat rationis in armis.²

And in his age performed it, which although it were a very vaine, and godles superstition, as also it was to think that spirits were commaunded by such verses, where upon this word charmes, derived of *Carmina* commeth, so yet serveth it to shew the great reverence those wits were helde in. And altogether not without ground, since both the Oracles of *Delphos* and *Sibillas* prophecies, were wholly delivered in verses. For that same exquisite observing of number and measure in words, and that high flying liberty of conceit proper to the Poet, did seeme to have some dyvine force in it.

And may not I presume a little further, to shew the reasonablenes of this worde *Vates*? And say that the holy *Davids* Psalmes are a divine Poem? If I doo, I shall not do it without the testimonie of great learned men, both auncient and moderne: but even the name Psalmes will speake for mee, which being interpreted, is nothing but songes Then that is

¹ Clodius Albinus v. Gibbon, ch. 5.

² *Aeneid*, v. 314.

it fully written in meeter, as all learned Hebricians agree, although the rules be not yet fully found. Lastly and principally, his handling his prophecy, which is meere poetical. For what els is the awaking his musically instruments? The often and free changing of persons? His notable *Prosopopeias*,¹ when he maketh you as it were, see God comming in his Majestie. His telling of the Beastes joyfulness and hills leaping, but a heavenlie poesie: wherein almost hee sheweth himselfe a passionate lover, of that unspeakable and everlasting beautie to be seene by the eyes of the minde, onely cleared by fayth. But truely nowe having named him, I feare mee I seeme to prophane that holy name, applying it to Poetrie, which is among us throwne downe to so ridiculous an estimation: but they that with quiet judgements will looke a little deeper into it, shall finde the end and working of it such, as beeing rightly applyed, deserveth not to bee scourged out of the Church of God.

But now, let us see how the Greekes named it, and howe they deemed of it. The Greekes called him a Poet, which name, hath as the most excellent, gone through other Languages. It commeth of this word *Poiein*, which is, to make: wherein I know not whether by lucke or

¹ Poetic characterisations, *lit.* personifications.

wisedome, wee Englishmen have mette with the Greekes, in calling him a maker : which name, how high and incomparable a title it is, I had rather were knowne by marking the scope of other Sciences, then by my partiall allegation.

There is no Arte delivered to mankinde, that hath not the workes of Nature for his principall object, without which they could not consist, and on which they so depend, as they become Actors and Players as it were, of what Nature will have set foorth. So doth the Astronomer looke upon the starres, and by that he seeth, setteth downe what order Nature hath taken therein. So doe the Geometrician, and Arithmetician, in their diverse sorts of quantities. So doth the Musitian in times, tel you which by nature agree, which not. The naturall Philosopher thereon hath his name, and the Morrall Philosopher standeth upon the naturall vertues, vices, and passions of man ; and followe Nature (saith hee) therein, and thou shalt not erre. The Lawyer sayth what men have determined. The Historian what men have done. The Grammarian speaketh onely of the rules of speech, and the Rethorician, and Logitian, considering what in Nature will soonest prove and perswade, thereon give artificial rules, which still are compassed

within the circle of a question, according to the proposed matter. The Phisition waigheth the nature of a mans bodie, and the nature of things helpful, or hurtefull unto it. And the Metaphisick, though it be in the seconde and abstract notions, and therefore be counted supernaturall: yet doth hee indeede builde upon the depth of Nature: onely the Poet, disdayning to be tied to any such subjection, lifted up with the vigor of his owne invention, dooth growe in effect, another nature, in making things either better then Nature bringeth forth, or quite a newe formes such as never were in Nature, as the *Heroes*, *Demigods*, *Cyclops*, *Chimeras*, *Furies*, and such like: so as hee goeth hand in hand with Nature, not inclosed within the narrow warrant of her guifts, but freely ranging onely within the Zodiack of his owne wit.

Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapistry, as divers Poets have done, neither with plesant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet smelling flowers: nor whatsoever els may make the too much loved earth more lovely. Her world is brasen, the Poets only deliver a golden: but let those things alone and goe to man, for whom as the other things are, so it seemeth in him her uttermost cunning is imployed, and knowe

whether shee have brought foorth so true a lover as *Theagines*,¹ so constant a friende as *Pilades*, so valiant a man as *Orlando*, so right a Prince as *Xenophons Cyrus*: so excellent a man every way, as *Virgils Aeneas*: neither let this be jestingly conceived, because the works of the one be essentiall: the other, in imitation of fiction, for any understanding knoweth the skil of the Artificer: standeth in that *Idea* or fore-conceite of the work, and not in the work it selfe. And that the Poet hath that *Idea*, is manifest, by delivering them forth in such excellencie as hee hath imagined them. Which delivering forth also, is not wholie imaginative, as we are wont to say by them that build Castles in the ayre: but so farre substantially it worketh, not onely to make a *Cyrus*, which had been but a particuler excellencie, as Nature might have done, but to bestow a *Cyrus* upon the worlde, to make many *Cyrus's*, if they wil learne aright, why, and how that Maker made him.

Neyther let it be deemed too sawcie a comparison to ballance the highest poynt of mans wit with the efficacie of Nature: but rather give right honor to the heavenly Maker of that

¹ The hero of 'Æthispica;' a Greek romance of the 5th century by Heliodorus.

maker : who having made man to his owne likenes, set him beyond and over all the workes of that second nature, which in nothing hee sheweth so much as in Poetrie : when with the force of a divine breath, he bringeth things forth far surpassing her dooings, with no small argument to the incredulous of that first accursed fall of *Adam* : sith our erected wit, maketh us know what perfection is, and yet our infected will, keepeth us from reaching unto it. But these arguments wil by fewe be understood, and by fewer granted. Thus much (I hope) will be given me, that the Greekes with some probabilitie of reason, gave him the name above all names of learning. Now let us goe to a more ordinary opening of him, that the trueth may be more palpable : and so I hope, though we get not so unmatched a praise as the Etimologie of his names wil grant, yet his very description, which no man will denie, shall not justly be barred from a principall commendation.

Poesie therefore is an arte of imitation, for so *Aristotle* termeth it in his word *Mimesis*,¹ that is to say, a representing, counterfetting, or figuring foorth : to speake metaphorically, a speaking picture : with this end, to teach and

¹ Aristotle, 'Poetics,' c. i.

delight; of this have beene three severall kindes. The chiefe both in antiquitie and excellencie, were they that did imitate the inconceivable excellencies of GOD. Such were, *David* in his Psalmes, *Salomon* in his song of Songs, in his Ecclesiastes, and Proverbs: *Moses* and *Debora* in theyr Hymnes, and the writer of *Job*; which beside other, the learned *Emanuel* Tremilius and *Franciscus Junius*,¹ doe entitle the poetickall part of the Scripture. Against these none will speake that hath the holie Ghost in due holy reverence.

In this kinde, though in a full wrong divinitie, were *Orpheus*, *Amphion*, *Homer* in his hymes, and many other, both Greekes and Romaines: and this Poesie must be used, by whosoever will follow *S. James* his counsell, in singing Psalmes when they are merry: and I knowe is used with the fruite of comfort by some, when in sorrowfull pangs of their death-bringing sinnes, they find the consolation of the never-leaving goodnesse.

The second kinde, is of them that deale with matters Philosophicall; eyther morrall, as *Tirteus*, *Phocilides* and *Cato*, or naturall, as *Lucretius* and *Virgils Georgicks*; or Astronomi-

¹ Two famous translators of the Bible, whose Latin version was printed at Frankfort, 1575-80.

call, as *Manilius*¹ and *Pontanus*,² or historical, as *Lucan* : which who mislike, the faulte is in their judgements quite out of taste, and not in the sweet foode of sweetly uttered knowledge. But because thys second sorte is wrapped within the folde of the proposed subject, and takes not the course of his owne invention, whether they properly be Poets or no, let Gramarians dispute : and goe to the thyrd, indeed right Poets, of whom chiefly this question ariseth ; betwixt whom, and these second is such a kinde of difference, as betwixt the meaner sort of Painters, (who counterfet onely such faces as are sette before them) and the more excellent : who having no law but wit, bestow that in cullours upon you which is fittest for the eye to see : as the constant, though lamenting looke of *Lucrecia*, when she punished in her selfe an others fault.

Wherein he painteth not *Lucrecia* whom he never sawe, but painteth the outwarde beauty of such a vertue : for these third be they which most properly do imitate to teach and delight, and to imitate, borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be : but range onely rayned with

¹ A poet under Tiberius, the author of the poem, 'Astronomica.'

² The mediæval Latin poet, 1426-1503. His 'Urania' was evidently in Sidney's mind.

learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be, and should be. These bee they, that as the first and most noble sorte, may justly bee termed *Vates*, so these are waited on in the excellen[te]st languages and best understandings, with the fore described name of Poets : for these indeede doo meerely make to imitate : and imitate both to delight and teach : and delight to move men to take that goodnes in hande, which without delight they would flye as from a stranger. And teach, to make them know that goodnes whereunto they are mooved, which being the noblest scope to which ever any learning was directed, yet want there not idle tongues to barke at them. These be subdivided into sundry more speciall denominations. The most notable bee the *Heroick*, *Lirick*, *Tragick*, *Comick*, *Satirick*, *Iambick*, *Elegiack*, *Pastorall*, and certaine others. Some of these being termed according to the matter they deale with, some by the sorts of verses they liked best to write in, for indeede the greatest part of Poets have apparelled their poeticall inventions in that numbrous kinde of writing which is called verse : indeed but apparelled, verse being but an ornament and no cause to Poetry : sith there have beene many most excellent Poets, that

never versified, and now swarme many versifiers that neede never aunswere to the name of Poets. For *Xenophon*, who did imitate so excellently, as to give us *effigiem justi imperij*, the portraiture of a just Empire under the name of *Cyrus*, (as *Cicero* sayth of him)¹ made therein an absolute heroicall Poem.

So did *Heliodorus* in his sugred invention of that picture of love in *Theagines* and *Cariclea*,² and yet both these writ in Prose: which I speak to shew, that it is not riming and versing that maketh a Poet, no more than a long gowne maketh an Advocate: who though he pleaded in armor should be an advocate and no Souldier. But it is that fayning notable images of vertues, vices, or what els, with that delightfull teaching which must be the right describing note to know a Poet by: although indeed the Senate of Poets hath chosen verse as their fittest rayment, meaning, as in matter they passed all in all, so in maner to goe beyond them: not speaking (table talke fashion or like men in a dreame,) words as they chanceably fall from the mouth, but peyzing each sillable of each worde by just proportion according to the dignitie of the subject.

¹ 'Epist. ad Quintum Fratrem,' i. 1, 8.

² The hero and heroine of the romance, 'Æthiopica.'

Nowe therefore it shall not bee amisse first to waigh this latter sort of Poetrie by his works, and then by his partes; and if in neyther of these Anatomies hee be condemnable, I hope wee shall obtaine a more favourable sentence. This purifying of wit, this enritching of memory, enabling of judgment, and enlarging of conceyt, which commonly we call learning, under what name soever it com forth, or to what immediat end soever it be directed, the final end is, to lead and draw us to as high a perfection, as our degenerate soules made worse by theyr clayey lodgings, can be capable of. This according to the inclination of the man, bred many formed impressions, for some that thought this felicity principally to be gotten by knowledge, and no knowledge to be so high and heavenly, as acquaintance with the starres, gave themselves to Astronomie; others, persuading themselves to be *Demigods* if they knewe the causes of things, became naturall and supernaturall Philosophers, some an admirable delight drew to Musicke: and some, the certainty of demonstration, to the Mathematickes. But all, one, and other, having this scope to knowe, and by knowledge to lift up the mind from the dungeon of the body, to the enjoying his owne

divine essence. But when by the ballance of experience it was found, that the Astronomer looking to the starres might fall into a ditch, that the enquiring Philosopher might be blinde in himselfe, and the Mathematician might draw foorth a straight line with a crooked hart : then loe, did prooffe the over ruler of opinions, make manifest, that all these are but serving Sciences, which as they have each a private end in themselves, so yet are they all directed to the highest end of the mistres Knowledge, by the Greekes called *Arkitecktonike*,¹ which stands, (as I thinke) in the knowledge of a mans selfe, in the Ethicke and politick consideration, with the end of well dooing and not of well knowing onely ; even as the Sadlers next end is to make a good saddle : but his farther end, to serve a nobler facultie, which is horsemanship, so the horsemans to souldiery, and the Souldier not onely to have the skill, but to performe the practise of a Souldier : so that the ending end of all earthly learning, being vertuous action, those skilles that most serve to bring forth that, have a most just title to bee Princes over all the rest : wherein if wee can shewe the Poets noblenes, by setting him before his other Competitors, among whom

¹ V. Aristotle. *Ethics*, i. 1.

as principall challengers step forth the morrall Philosophers, whom me thinketh, I see coming towards me with a sullen gravity, as though they could not abide vice by day light, rudely clothed for to witnes outwardly their contempt of outward things, with bookes in their hands agaynst glory, whereto they sette theyr names, sophistically speaking against subtilty, and angry with any man in whom they see the foule fault of anger : these men casting larges as they goe, of Definitions, Divisions, and Distinctions, with a scornfull interrogative, doe soberly aske, whether it bee possible to finde any path, so ready to leade a man to vertue, as that which teacheth what vertue is ? and teacheth it not onely by delivering forth his very being, his causes, and effects : but also, by making known his enemie vice, which must be destroyed, and his combersome servant Passion, which must be maistered, by shewing the generalities that contayneth it, and the specialities that are derived from it. Lastly, by playne setting downe, how it extendeth it selfe out of the limits of a mans own little world, to the government of families, and maintayning of publike societies.

The Historian, scarcely giveth leysure to the Moralist, to say so much, but that he loden

with old Mouse-eaten records, authorising himselfe (for the most part) upon other histories, whose greatest authorities, are built upon the notable foundation of Heare-say, having much a-doe to accord differing Writers, and to pick trueth out of partiality, better acquainted with a thousande yeeres a goe, then with the present age: and yet better knowing how this world goeth, then how his owne wit runneth: curious for antiquities, and inquisitive of novelties, a wonder to young folkes, and a tyrant in table talke, denieth in a great chafe, that any man for teaching of vertue, and vertuous actions, is comparable to him. I am *Lux vitæ, Temporum Magistra, Vita memoriæ, Nuncia vetustatis.* &c.¹

The Phylosopher (sayth hee) teacheth a disputative vertue, but I doe an active: his vertue is excellent in the dangerlesse Academie of *Plato*, but mine sheweth foorth her honorable face, in the battailes of *Marathon, Pharsalia, Poitiers*, and *Agincourt*. Hee teacheth vertue by certaine abstract considerations, but I onely bid you follow the footing of them that have gone before you. Olde-aged experience, goeth beyond the fine-witted Phylosopher, but I give the experience of many ages. Lastly, if he

¹ V. Cicero, 'de Orat,' 2, 9, 36.

make the Song-booke, I put the learners hande to the Lute : and if hee be the guide, I am the light.

Then woulde hee alledge you innumerable examples, conferring storie by storie, how much the wisest Senatours and Princes, have beene directed by the credite of history, as *Brutus*, *Alphonsus* of *Aragon*,¹ and who not, if need bee ? At length, the long lyne of theyr disputation maketh a poynt in thys, that the one giveth the precept, and the other the example.

Nowe, whom shall wee finde (sith the question standeth for the highest forme in the Schoole of learning) to bee Moderator ? Trulie, as me seemeth, the Poet ; and if not a Moderator, even the man that ought to carrie the title from them both, and much more from all other serving Sciences. Therefore compare we the Poet with the Historian, and with the Morrall Phylosopher, and, if hee goe beyond them both, no other humaine skill can match him. For as for the Divine, with all reverence it is ever to be excepted, not only for having his scope as far beyonde any of these, as eternitie exceedeth a moment, but even for passing each of these in themselves.

¹ Alphonsus V. of Aragon and I. of Sicily [1416-1458] ; a great book-hunter and patron of learning, who took an open book as his device.

And for the Lawyer, though *Jus* bee the Daughter of Justice, and Justice the chiefe of Vertues, yet because hee seeketh to make men good, rather *Formidine pænæ*, then *Virtutis amore*,¹ or to say righter, dooth not indeavour to make men good, but that their evill hurt not others : having no care so hee be a good Cittizen ; how bad a man he be. Therefore, as our wickedness maketh him necessarie, and necessitie maketh him honorable, so is hee not in the deepest trueth to stande in rancke with these ; who all indeavour to take naughtines away, and plant goodnesse even in the secretest cabinet of our soules. And these foure are all, that any way deale in that consideration of mens manners, which being the supreme knowledge, they that best breed it, deserve the best commendation.

The Philosopher therfore and the Historian, are they which would win the goale : the one by precept, the other by example. But both not having both, doe both halte. For the Philosopher, setting downe with thorny argument the bare rule, is so hard of utterance, and so mistie to bee conceived, that one that hath no other guide but him, shall wade in him till hee be olde, before he shall finde

¹ Horace, Epist. i. 16, 52.

sufficient cause to bee honest: for his knowledge standeth so upon the abstract and generall, that happie is that man who may understande him, and more happie, that can applye what hee dooth understand.

On the other side, the Historian wanting the precept, is so tyed, not to what shoulde bee, but to what is, to the particuler truth of things, and not to the general reason of things, that hys example draweth no necessary consequence and therefore a lesse fruitlesse ¹ doctrine.

Nowe dooth the peerelesse Poet performe both: for whatsoever the Philosopher sayth shoulde bee doone, hee giveth a perfect picture of it in some one, by whom hee presupposeth it was done. So as hee coupleth the generall notion with the particuler example. A perfect picture I say, for hee yeeldeth to the powers of the minde, an image of that whereof the Philosopher bestoweth but a woordish description: which dooth neyther strike, pierce, nor possesse the sight of the soule, so much as that other dooth.

For as in outward things, to a man that had never seene an Elephant or a Rinoceros, who should tell him most exquisitely all theyr shapes, cullour, bignes, and perticular markes:

¹ Evidently an error for 'fruitfull.'

or of a gorgeous Pallace, the Architecture, with declaring the full beauties, might well make the hearer able to repeate as it were by rote, all hee had heard, yet should never satisfie his inward conceits, with being witnes to it selfe of a true lively knowledge: but the same man, as soone as hee might see those beasts well painted, or the house wel in model, should straightwaies grow without need of any description, to a judicial comprehending of them, so no doubt the Philosopher with his learned definition, bee it of vertue, vices, matters of publick policie, or privat government, replenisheth the memory with many infallible grounds of wisdom: which notwithstanding, lye darke before the imaginative and judging powre, if they bee not illuminated or figured foorth by the speaking picture of Poesie.

Tullie taketh much paynes and many times not without poeticall helpes, to make us knowe the force love of our Countrey hath in us.¹ Let us but heare old *Anchises* speaking in the midst of Troyes flames, or see *Uliesses* in the fulnes of all *Calipso's* delights, bewayle his absence from barraine and beggerly *Ithaca*. Anger the *Stoicks* say, was a short maddnes,

¹ v. *De Orat*, i. § 196.

let but *Sophocles* bring you *Ajax* on a stage, killing and whipping Sheepe and Oxen, thinking them the Army of Greeks, with theyr Chiefetaines *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, and tell mee if you have not a more familiar insight into anger, then finding in the Schoolemen his *Genus* and difference. See whether wisdom and temperance in *Ulysses* and *Dio-medes*, valure in *Achilles*, friendship in *Nisus* and *Eurialus*,¹ even to an ignoraunt man, carry not an apparent shyning: and contrarily, the remorse of conscience in *Oedipus*, the soone repenting pride of *Agamemnon*, the self-devouring crueltie in his Father *Atreus*, the violence of ambition in the two *Theban* brothers, the sowre-sweetnes of revenge in *Medæa*,² and to fall lower, the *Terentian Gnato*,³ and our *Chaucers* Pandar, so exprest, that we nowe use their names to signifie their trades. And finally, all vertues, vices, and passions, so in their own naturall seates layd to the view, that wee seeme not to heare of them, but cleerely to see through them. But even in the most excellent determination of

¹ *Aeulis*, 9, 175, &c.

² Sidney has the plays of Seneca in his mind here; not those of Sophocles and Aeschylus. See Seneca's *Thyestes* for the story of 'the two Theban brothers.'

³ V. Terence's *Eunuchus*.

goodnes, what Philosophers counsell can so redily direct a Prince, as the fayned *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*? or a vertuous man in all fortunes, as *Aeneas* in *Virgill*? or a whole Common-wealth, as the way of Sir *Thomas Moores Eutopia*? I say the way, because where Sir *Thomas Moore* erred, it was the fault of the man and not of the Poet, for that way of patterning a Common-wealth was most absolute, though hee perchaunce hath not so absolutely perfourmed it: for the question is, whether the fayned image of Poesie, or the regular instruction of Philosophy, hath the more force in teaching: wherein if the Philosophers have more rightly shewed themselves Philosophers, then the Poets have obtained to the high top of their profession, as in truth,

—————Mediocribus esse poetis,
Non Dij, non homines, non concessere Columnæ :¹

It is I say againe, not the fault of the Art, but that by fewe men that Arte can bee accomplished.

Certainly, even our Saviour Christ could as well have given, the morrall common places of uncharitablenes and humblenes, as the divine narration of *Dives* and *Lazarus*: or of dis-

¹ Horace: *Ars Poet.*, 372.

obedience and mercy, as that heavenly discourse of the lost Child and the gracious Father ; but that hys through-searching wisdom, knewe the estate of *Dives* burning in hell, and of *Lazarus* being in *Abrahams* bosome, would more constantly (as it were) inhabit both the memory and judgment. Truly, for my selfe, mee seemes I see before my eyes the lost Childe disdainefull prodigality, turned to envie a Swines dinner : which by the learned Divines, are thought not historicall acts, but instructing Parables. For conclusion, I say the Philosopher teacheth, but he teacheth obscurely, so as the learned onely can understande him : that is to say, he teacheth them that are already taught, but the Poet is the foode for the tenderest stomacks, the Poet is indeed the right Popular Philosopher, whereof *Esops* tales give good prooffe : whose pretty Allegories, stealing under the formall tales of Beastes, make many, more beastly than Beasts, begin to heare the sound of vertue from these dumbe speakers.

But now may it be alledged, that if this imagining of matters be so fitte for the imagination, then must the Historian needs surpasse, who bringeth you images of true matters, such as indeede were doone, and not such as fantasti-

cally or falsely may be suggested to have been doone. Truly *Aristotle*¹ himselfe in his discourse of Poesie, plainly determineth this question, saying, that Poetry is *Philosophoteron* and *Spoudaioteron*, that is to say, it is more Philosophical, and more studiously serious, than history. His reason is, because Poesie dealeth with *Katholon*, that is to say, with the universall consideration ; and the history with *Kathekaston*, the perticuler ; nowe sayth he, the universall wayes what is fit to bee sayd or done, eyther in likelihood or necessity, (which the Poesie considereth in his imposed names,) and the perticuler, onely mark's, whether *Alcibiades* did, or suffered, this or that. Thus farre *Aristotle* : which reason of his, (as all his) is most full of reason. For indeed, if the question were whether it were better to have a perticuler acte truly or falsly set down : there is no doubt which is to be chosen, no more then whether you had rather have *Vespasians* picture right as hee was, or at the Painters pleasure nothing resembling. But if the question be for your owne use and learning, whether it be better to have it set downe as it should be, or as it was : then certainly is more doctrinable the fained *Cirus* in *Xenophon* then the true *Cyrus* in *Jus-*

¹ Aristotle, *Poet.*, c. 9.

tine : and the fayned *Aeneas* in *Virgil*, then the right *Aeneas* in *Dares Phrygius*.¹ As to a Lady that desired to fashion her countenance to the best grace, a Painter should more benefite her to portraite a most sweet face, wryting *Canidia* upon it, than to paynt *Canidia* as she was, who *Horace* sweareth, was foule and ill favoured.²

If the Poet doe his part a-right, he will shew you in *Tantalus*, *Atreus*, and such like, nothing that is not to be shunned. In *Cyrus*, *Aeneas*, *Ulysses*, each thing to be followed ; where the Historian, bound to tell things as things were, cannot be liberall (without hee will be poetically) of a perfect patterne : but as in *Alexander* or *Scipio* himselfe, shew dooings, some to be liked, some to be disliked. And then how will you discern what to followe but by your owne discretion, which you had without reading *Quintus Curtius* ?³ And whereas a man may say, though in universall consideration of doctrine the Poet prevaileth ; yet that the historie, in his saying such a thing was doone, doth warrant a man more in that hee shall follow.

¹ *I.e.*, the historical Aeneas of Dares ; who was himself however a feigned author, whose Trojan history was really the work of mediæval scribes.

² *V. Horace : Epodes, 3 & 5.*

³ *Quintus Curtius Rufus ; historian of Alexander the Great's reign.*

The aunswere is manifest, that if hee stande upon that was ; as if hee should argue, because it rayned yesterday, therefore it shoulde rayne to day, then indeede it hath some advantage to a grose conceite : but if he know an example onlie, informes a conjectured likelihood, and so goe by reason, the Poet dooth so farre exceede him, as hee is to frame his example to that which is most reasonable : be it in warlike, politick, or private matters ; where the Historian in his bare *Was*, hath many times that which wee call fortune, to over-rule the best wisdome. Manie times, he must tell events, whereof he can yeelde no cause : or if hee doe, it must be poeti-call ; for that a fayned example, hath asmuch force to teach, as a true example : (for as for to moove, it is cleere, sith the fayned may be tuned to the highest key of passion) let us take one example, wherein a Poet and a Historian doe concur.

Herodotus ¹ and *Justine* ² do both testifie, that *Zopirus*, King *Darius* faithfull servaunt, seeing his Maister long resisted by the rebellious *Babylonians*, fayned himselfe in extreame disgrace of his King : for verifying of which, he caused his owne nose and eares to be cut off : and so flying to the *Babylonians*, was received : and for his knowne valour, so far credited, that hee did

¹ Herodotus, 3, 153-8.

² Justine, 1, 10, 15, 22.

finde meanes to deliver them over to *Darius*. Much like matter doth *Livie* record of *Tarquinius* and his sonne.¹ *Xenophon* excellently faineth such another stratageme, performed by *Abradates*² in *Cyrus* behalfe. Now would I fayne know, if occasion bee presented unto you, to serve your Prince by such an honest dissimulation, why you doe not as well learne it of *Xenophons* fiction, as of the others verity: and truely so much the better, as you shall save your nose by the bargaine: for *Abradates* did not counterfet so far. So then the best of the Historian, is subject to the Poet; for whatsoever action, or faction, whatsoever counsell, pollicy, or warre stratagem, the Historian is bound to recite, that may the Poet (if he list) with his imitation make his own; beautifying it both for further teaching, and more delighting, as it pleaseth him: having all, from *Dante* his heaven, to hys hell, under the authoritie of his penne. Which if I be asked what Poets have done so, as I might well name some, yet say I, and say againe, I speak of the Arte, and not of the Artificer.

Nowe, to that which commonly is attributed to the prayse of histories, in respect of the notable learning is gotten by marking the successe,

¹ Livy, 1, 53-4.

² An error for Araspes.

as though therein a man should see vertue exalted, and vice punished. Truly that commendation is peculiar to Poetrie, and farre off from History. For indeede Poetrie ever setteth vertue so out in her best cullours, making Fortune her wel-wayting hand-mayd, that one must needs be enamored of her. Well may you see *Ulissee* in a storme, and in other hard plights ; but they are but exercises of patience and magnanimitie, to make them shine the more in the neere-following prosperitie. And of the contrarie part, if evill men come to the stage, they ever goe out (as the Tragedie Writer answered, to one that misliked the shew of such persons) so manacled, as they little animate folkes to followe them. But the Historian, beeing captived to the trueth of a foolish world, is many times a terror from well dooing, and an encouragement to unbrideled wickednes.

For, see wee not valiant *Milciades* rot in his fetters ?¹ The just *Phocion*, and the accomplished *Socrates*, put to death like Traytors ? The cruell *Severus* live prosperously ? The excellent *Severus* miserably murthered ? *Sylla* and *Marius* dying in theyr beddes ? *Pompey* and *Cicero* slaine then, when they would have thought exile a happinesse ?

¹ Cf. Herodotus, 6. 136.

See wee not vertuous *Cato* driven to kyll himselfe? and rebell *Cæsar* so advaunced, that his name yet after 1600 yeares, lasteth in the highest honor? And marke but even *Cæsars* own words of the fore-named *Sylla*, (who in that onely did honestly, to put downe his dishonest tryannie,) *Literas nescivit*, as if want of learning caused him to doe well. Hee meant it not by Poetrie, which not content with earthly plagues, deviseth new punishments in hel for Tryants: nor yet by Philosophie, which teacheth *Occidendos esse*, but no doubt by skill in Historie: for that indeede can affoord your *Cipselus*, *Periander*,¹ *Phalaris*, *Dionisius*, and I know not how many more of the same kennell, that speede well enough in theyr abhominable unjustice or usurpation. I conclude therefore, that hee excelleth Historie, not onely in furnishing the minde with knowledge, but in setting it forward, to that which deserveth to be called and accounted good: which setting forward, and mooving to well dooing, indeed setteth the Lawrell crowne upon the Poet as victorious, not onely of the Historian, but over the Phylosopher: howsoever in teaching it may bee questionable.

For suppose it be granted, (that which I suppose with great reason may be denied,) that

¹ Cf. Herodotus, 5. 92.

the Philosopher in respect of his methodical proceeding, doth teach more perfectly than the Poet : yet do I thinke, that no man is so much *Philophilosophos*, as to compare the Philosopher in mooving, with the Poet.

And that mooving is of a higher degree then teaching, it may by this appeare : that it is wel nigh the cause and the effect of teaching. For who will be taught, if hee bee not mooved with desire to be taught? and what so much good doth that teaching bring forth, (I speak still of morrall doctrine) as that it mooveth one to doe that which it dooth teach? for as *Aristotle* sayth,¹ it is not *Gnosis*, but *Praxis*, must be the fruit. And howe *Praxis* cannot be, without being mooved to practise, it is no hard matter to consider.

The Philosopher sheweth you the way, hee informeth you of the particularities, as well of the tediousnes of the way, as of the pleasant lodging you shall have when your journey is ended, as of the many byturnings that may divert you from your way. But this is to no man but to him that will read him, and read him with attentive studious painfulness. Which constant desire, whosoever hath in him, hath already past halfe the hardnes of the way, and therefore is behold-

¹ *Ethic.*, 1. 1.

ing to the Philosopher but for the other halfe. Nay truely, learned men have learnedly thought, that where once reason hath so much overmasted passion, as that the minde hath a free desire to doe well, the inward light each minde hath in it selfe, is as good as a Philosophers booke ; seeing in nature we know it is wel, to doe well, and what is well, and what is evill, although not in the words of Arte, which Philosophers bestowe upon us. For out of naturall conceit, the Philosophers drew it, but to be moved to doe that which we know, or to be mooved with desire to knowe, *Hoc opus : Hic labor est.*¹

Nowe therein of all Sciences, (I speak still of humaine, and according to the humaine conceits) is our Poet the Monarch. For he dooth not only show the way, but giveth so sweete a prospect into the way, as will intice any man to enter into it. Nay, he dooth as if your journey should lye through a fayre Vineyard, at the first give you a cluster of Grapes : that full of that taste, you may long to passe further. He be-ginneth not with obscure definitions, which must blur the margent with intrepertations, and load the memory with doubtfulnessse : but hee com-meth to you with words sent in delightfull proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared

¹ Virgil, *Æneid*, 6. 128.

for the well inchaunting skill of Musicke ; and with a tale forsooth he commeth unto you : with a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney corner. And pretending no more, doth intende the winning of the mind from wickednesse to vertue : even as the childe is often brought to take most wholsom things, by hiding them in such other as have a pleasant tast : which if one should beginne to tell them, the nature of *Aloes*, or *Rubarb* they shoulde receive, woulde sooner take their Phisicke at their eares, then at their mouth. So is it in men (most of which are childish in the best things, till they bee cradled in their graves,) glad they will be to heare the tales of *Hercules*, *Achilles*, *Cyrus*, and *Aeneas* : and hearing them, must needs heare the right description of wisdom, valure, and justice ; which, if they had been barely, that is to say, Philosophically set out, they would sweare they bee brought to schoole againe.

That imitation whereof Poetry is, hath the most conveniency to Nature of all other, in somuch, that as *Aristotle* sayth, those things which in themselves are horrible, as cruell battailes, unnaturall Monsters, are made in poetickall imitation delightfull. Truly I have knowen men, that even with reading *Amadis*

de Gaule, (which God knoweth wanteth much of a perfect Poesie)¹ have found their harts mooved to the exercise of courtesie, liberalitie, and especially courage.

Who readeth *Aeneas* carrying olde *Anchises* on his back, that wisheth not it were his fortune to perfourme so excellent an acte? Whom doe not the words of *Turnus* moove? (the tale of *Turnus*, having planted his image in the imagination,)

—————Fugientem hæc terra videbit,
Usque adeone mori miserum est?—————²

Where the Philosophers, as they scorne to delight, so must they bee content little to moove: saving wrangling, whether Vertue bee the chiefe, or the onely good: whether the contemplative, or the active life doe excell: which *Plato* and *Boethius* well knew, and therefore made Mistres Philosophy, very often borrow the masking rayment of Poesie. For even those harde harted evill men, who thinke vertue a schoole name, and knowe no other good, but *indulgere genio*,³ and therefore despise the austere admonitions of the Philosopher, and feele not

¹ Sidney probably knew the romance in the original Castilian, as well as in the second-hand English version of 1567.

² Virgil, *Aeneid*, 12. 645.

³ Persius, 5. 151.

the inward reason they stand upon ; yet will be content to be delighted : which is al, the good fellow Poet seemeth to promise : and so steale to see the forme of goodnes (which seene they cannot but love) ere themselves be aware, as if they tooke a medicine of Cherries. Infinite proofes of the strange effects of this poetically invention might be alledged, onely two shall serve, which are so often remembred, as I thinke all men knowe them.

The one of *Menenius Agrippa*,¹ who when the whole people of Rome had resolutely devided themselves from the Senate, with apparant shew of utter ruine : though hee were (for that time) an excellent Oratour, came not among them, upon trust of figurative speeches, or cunning insinuations : and much lesse, with farre² fet *Maximes* of Phylosophie, which (especially if they were *Platonick*,) they must have learned Geometrie before they could well have conceived : but forsooth he behaves himselfe, like a homely, and familiar Poet. Hee telleth them a tale, that there was a time, when all the parts of the body made a mutinous conspiracie against the belly, which they thought devoured the fruits of each others labour : they concluded they would let so unprofitable a spender starve. In

¹ V. Livy, 2. 32.

² Far-fetched.

the end, to be short, (for the tale is notorious, and as notorious that it was a tale,) with punishing the belly, they plagued themselves. This applied by him, wrought such effect in the people, as I never read, that ever words brought forth but then, so suddaine and so good an alteration; for upon reasonable conditions, a perfect reconciliation ensued. The other is of *Nathan* the Prophet, who when the holie *David* had so far forsaken God, as to confirme adulterie with murther: when hee was to doe the tenderest office of a friende, in laying his owne shame before his eyes, sent by God to call againe so chosen a servant: how doth he it? but by telling of a man, whose beloved Lambe was ungratefullie taken from his bosome: the application most divinely true, but the discourse it-selfe, fayned: which made *David*, (I speake of the second and instrumentall cause) as in a glasse, to see his own filthines, as that heavenly Psalm¹ of mercie wel testifieth.

By these therefore examples and reasons, I think it may be manifest, that the Poet with that same hand of delight, doth draw the mind more effectually, then any other Arte dooth, and so a conclusion not unfitlie ensueth: that as vertue is the most excellent resting place for all worldlie

¹ Psalm li.

learning to make his end of : so Poetrie, beeing the most familiar to teach it, and most princelie to move towards it, in the most excellent work, is the most excellent workman. But I am content, not onely to decipher him by his workes, (although works in commendation or dispraise, must ever holde an high authority,) but more narrowly will examine his parts : so that (as in a man) though altogether may carry a presence ful of majestie and beautie, perchance in some one defectious peece, we may find a blemish : now in his parts, kindes, or *Species*, (as you list to terme them) it is to be noted that some Poesies have coupled together two or three kindes, as Tragicall and Comicall, wher-upon is risen, the Tragi-comicall. Some in the like manner have mingled Prose and Verse, as *Sanazzar*¹ and *Boetius*. Some have mingled matters Heroicall and Pastorall. But that commeth all to one in this question, for if severed they be good, the conjunction cannot be hurtfull. Therefore perchaunce forgetting some, and leaving some as needlesse to be remembred, it shall not be amisse in a worde to cite the speciall kindes, to see what faults may be found in the right use of them.

¹ Sannazaro (1458-1530) ; the Italian Poet whose 'Arcadia' prompted Sidney's great romance.

Is it then the Pastorall Poem which is misliked? (for perchance, where the hedge is lowest, they will soonest leape over.) Is the poore pype disdained, which sometime out of *Melibeus* mouth, can shewe the miserie of people, under hard Lords, or ravening Souldiours? And again, by *Titirus*,¹ what blessednes is derived to them that lye lowest from the goodnesse of them that sit highest? Sometimes, under the prettie tales of Wolves and Sheepe, can include the whole considerations of wrong dooing and patience. Sometimes shew, that contention for trifles, can get but a trifling victorie. Where perchance a man may see, that even *Alexander* and *Darius*, when they strave who should be Cocke of this worlds dunghill, the benefit they got, was, that the after-livers may say,

Hæc memini et victum frustra contendere Thirsin :
Ex illo Coridon, Coridon est tempore nobis.²

Or is it the lamenting Elegiack, which in a kinde hart would moove rather pittie then blame, who bewailes with the great Philosopher *Heraclitus*, the weakenes of man-kind, and the wretchednes of the world: who surely is to be praysed, either for compassionate accompanying just causes of lamentation, or for

¹ Virgil, *Eclogues*, 1. 6. ² Virgil, *Ecl.*, 7. 69.

rightly paynting out how weake be the passions
of wofulnesse. Is it the bitter, but wholsome
Iambick, which rubs the galled minde, in
making shame the trumpet of villanie, with
bolde and open crying out against naughtines ;
Or the Satirick, who

Omne vafer vitium, ridenti tangit amico?¹

who sportingly never leaveth, until hee make
a man laugh at folly, and at length ashamed,
to laugh at himselfe : which he cannot avoyd,
without avoyding the follie. Who while

Circum præcordia ludit,

giveth us to feele, how many head-aches a
passionate life bringeth us to. How when all
is done,

Est ulubris animus si nos non deficit æquus?²

No perchance it is the Comick, whom naughtie
Play-makers and Stage-keepers, have justly
made odious. To the argument of abuse, I
will answer after. Onely thus much now is to
be said, that the Comedy is an imitation of
the common errors of our life, which he repre-
senteth, in the most ridiculous and scornfull
sort that may be. So as it is impossible, that
any beholder can be content to be such a one.

Now, as in Geometry, the oblique must be

¹ Cf. Persius, l. 116.

² Cf. Horace, *Ep.*, l. 11, 30.

knowne as wel as the right: and in Arithmetick, the odde as well as the even, so in the actions of our life, who seeth not the filthines of evil, wanteth a great foile to perceive the beauty of vertue. This doth the Comedy handle so in our private and domestical matters, as with hearing it, we get as it were an experience, what is to be looked for of a niggardly *Demea*:¹ of a crafty *Davus*:² of a flattering *Gnato*:³ of a vaine glorious *Thraso*:⁴ and not onely to know what effects are to be expected, but to know who be such, by the signifying badge given them by the Comedian. And little reason hath any man to say, that men learne evill by seeing it so set out: sith as I sayd before, there is no man living, but by the force trueth hath in nature, no sooner seeth these men play their parts, but wisheth them in *Pistrinum*: although perchance the sack of his owne faults, lye so behinde his back, that he seeth not himselfe daunce the same measure: whereto, yet nothing can more open his eyes, then to finde his own actions contemptibly set forth. So that the right use of Comedy will (I thinke) by no body be blamed, and much lesse of the high and excel-

¹ In Terence's *Adelphi*.

² In Terence's *Phormio*.

³ In Terence's *Eunuchus*.

⁴ In Terence's *Eunuchus*.

lent Tragedy, that openeth the greatest wounds, and sheweth forth the Ulcers, that are covered with Tissue: that maketh Kinges feare to be Tyrants, and Tyrants manifest their tirannicall humors: that with sturring the affects of admiration and commiseration, teacheth, the uncertainty of this world, and upon how weake foundations guilden roofes are builded. That maketh us knowe,

Qui sceptra scævus, duro imperio regit,
Timet timentes, metus in authorem reddit.¹

But how much it can moove, *Plutarch* yeeldeth a notable testimonie, of the abhominable Tyrant, *Alexander Pheræus*; ² from whose eyes, a Tragedy wel made, and represented, drewe abundance of teares: who without all pittie, had murdered infinite numbers, and some of his owne blood. So as he, that was not ashamed to make matters for Tragedies, yet coulde not resist the sweet violence of a Tragedie.

And if it wrought no further good in him, it was, that he in despight of himselfe, withdrew himselfe from harkening to that, which might mollifie his hardened heart. But it is not the Tragedy they doe mislike: For it were

¹ Seneca, *Oedipus*, 705.

² Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, c. 29, and *Morals*, i. 492.

too absurd to cast out so excellent a representation of whatsoever is most worthy to be learned. Is it the Liricke that most displeaseth, who with his tuned Lyre, and wel accorded voyce, giveth praise, the reward of vertue, to vertuous acts? who gives morrall precepts, and naturall Problemes, who sometimes rayseth up his voice to the height of the heavens, in singing the laudes of the immortall God. Certainly I must confesse my own barbarousnes, I never heard the olde song of *Percy* and *Duglas*,¹ that I found not my heart mooved more then with a Trumpet: and yet is it sung but by some blinde Crouder,² with no rougher voyce, then rude stile: which being so evill aparrelled in the dust and cobwebbes of that uncivill age, what would it worke trymmed in the gorgeous eloquence of *Pindar*? In *Hungary* I have seene it the manner at all Feasts, and other such meetings, to have songes of their Auncestours valour; which that right Souldier-like Nation thinck the chiefest kindlers of brave courage. The incomparable *Lacedemonians*,³ did not only

¹ The Ballad of Chevy Chase.

² *Scots*, 'Crowder' (*Welsh*, 'crwthwr'), a fiddler.

³ Cf. *The Arcadia* (11th ed.), b. i. p. 21. 'Practice had now made them comparable to the best of the Lacedemonians.'

carry that kinde of Musicke ever with them to the field, but even at home, as such songs were made, so were they all content to bee the singers of them, when the lusty men were to tell what they dyd, the olde men, what they had done, and the young men what they wold doe. And where a man may say, that *Pindar* many times prayseth highly victories of small moment, matters rather of sport then vertue: as it may be aunswered, it was the fault of the Poet, and not of the Poetry; so indeede, the chiefe fault was in the tyme and custome of the Greekes, who set those toyes at so high a price, that *Phillip* of *Macedon* reckoned a horse-race wonne at *Olimpus*,¹ among hys three fearefull felicities.² But as the unimitable *Pindar* often did, so is that kinde most capable and most fit, to awake the thoughts from the sleep of idlenes, to imbrace honorable enterprises.

There rests the Heroicall, whose very name (I thinke) should daunt all back-biters; for by what conceit can a tongue be directed to speak evill of that, which draweth with it, no lesse

¹ Olympia.

² Plutarch's *Alexander*. The 'three fearefull felicities' were that Parmeus had gained a victory over the Illyrians; that his horse had won a race at the Olympic Games; and the birth of his son Alexander.

Champions then *Achilles*, *Cyrus*, *Aeneas*, *Turnus*, *Tideus*, and *Rinaldo*?¹ who doth not onely teach and move to a truth, but teacheth and mooveth to the most high and excellent truth. Who maketh magnanimity and justice shine, throughout all misty fearefulnes and foggy desires. Who, if the saying of *Plato* and *Tullie* bee true, that who could see Vertue, would be wonderfully ravished with the love of her beauty: this man sets her out to make her more lovely in her holyday apparell, to the eye of any that will daine, not to disdaine, untill they understand. But if any thing be already sayd in the defence of sweete Poetry, all concurreth to the maintaining the Heroicall, which is not onely a kinde, but the best, and most accomplished kinde of Poetry. For as the image of each action styrreth and instructeth the mind, so the loftie image of such Worthies, most inflameth the mind with desire to be worthy, and informes with counsel how to be worthy. Only let *Aeneas* be worne in the tablet of your memory, how he governeth himselfe in the ruine of his Country, in the preserving his old Father, and carrying away his religious ceremonies: in obeying the Gods commandement to leave *Dido*, though not

¹ In *Orlando Furioso*; cf. also Tasso's *Rinaldo*.

only all passionate kindenes, but even the humane consideration of vertuous gratefulnes, would have craved other of him. How in storms, howe in sports, howe in warre, howe in peace, how a fugitive, how victorious, how besiedged, how besiedging, howe to strangers, howe to allyes, how to enemies, howe to his owne: lastly, how in his inward selfe, and how in his outward government. And I thinke, in a minde not prejudiced with a prejudicating humor, hee will be found in excellencie fruitfull: yea, even as *Horace* sayth

Melius Chrisippo et Crantore.¹

But truely I imagine, it falleth out with these Poet-whyppers, as with some good women, who often are sicke, but in fayth they cannot tel where. So the name of Poetrie is odious to them, but neither his cause, nor effects, neither the sum that containes him, nor the particularities descending from him, give any fast handle to their carping disprayse.

Sith then Poetrie is of all humane learning the most auncient, and of most fatherly antiquitie, as from whence other learnings have taken theyr beginnings: sith it is so universall, that no learned Nation dooth despise it, nor

¹ Horace, *Ep.*, 1. 3, 4.

no barbarous Nation is without it: sith both Roman and Greek gave divine names unto it: the one of prophecying, the other of making. And that indeede, that name of making is fit for him; considering, that where as other Arts retaine themselves within their subject, and receive as it were, their beeing from it: the Poet onely, bringeth his owne stuffe, and dooth not learne a conceite out of a matter, but maketh matter for a conceite:¹ Sith neither his description, nor his ende, contayneth any evill, the thing described cannot be evill: Sith his effects be so good as to teach goodnes and to delight the learners: Sith therein, (namely in morrall doctrine, the chiefe of all knowledges,) hee dooth not onely farre passe the Historian, but for instructing, is well nigh comparable to the Philosopher: and for moving, leaves him behind him: Sith the holy scripture (wherein there is no uncleannes) hath whole parts in it poeticall. And that even our Saviour Christ, vouchsafed to use the flowers of it: Sith all his kindes are not onlie in their united formes, but in their severed dissections fully commendable, I think, (and think I

¹ Cf. Sidney's poem in the *Arcadia*, b. ii. 153 (eleventh edn.):

'Poor painters oft with silly poets joyn,
To fill the world with strange, but vain conceits.'

thinke rightly) the Lawrell crowne appointed for tryumphing Captaines, doth worthilie (of al other learnings) honor the Poets tryumph. But because wee have eares as well as tongues, and that the lightest reasons that may be, will seeme to weigh greatly, if nothing be put in the counter-balance: let us heare, and as well as wee can ponder, what objections may bee made against this Arte, which may be worthy, eyther of yeelding, or answering.

First truely I note, not onely in these *Myso-mousoi* Poet-haters, but in all that kinde of people, who seek a prayse by dispraying others, that they doe prodigally spend a great many wandering wordes, in quips, and scoffes; carping and taunting at each thing, which by styrring the Spleene, may stay the braine from a through beholding the worthines of the subject.

Those kinde of objections, as they are full of very idle easines, sith there is nothing of so sacred a majestie, but that an itching tongue may rubbe it selfe upon it: so deserve they no other answer, but in steed of laughing at the jest, to laugh at the jester. Wee know a play-ing wit, can prayse the discretion of an Asse; the comfortablenes of being in debt, and the jolly commoditie of beeing sick of the plague. So of the contrary side, if we will turne *Ovids* verse,

Ut lateat virtus, proximitate mali,¹

that good lye hid in neerenesse of the evill : *Agrippa*² will be as merry in showing the vanitie of Science, as *Erasmus* was in commending of follie.³ Neyther shall any man or matter escape some touch of these smyling raylers. But for *Erasmus* and *Agrippa*, they had another foundation then the superficial part would promise. Mary, these other pleasant Fault-finders, who wil correct the Verbe, before they understande the Nounes, and confute others knowledge before they confirme theyr owne: I would have them onely remember, that scoffing commeth not of wisdom. So as the best title in true English they gette with their merriments, is to be called good fooles: for so have our grave Fore-fathers ever termed that humorous kinde of jesters: but that which gyveth greatest scope to their scorning humors, is ryming and versing. It is already sayde (and as I think, trulie sayde) it is not ryming and versing, that maketh Poesie. One may bee a Poet without versing, and a versifier without Poetry. But

¹ *Ars Amoris*, 2. 662.

² Cornelius Agrippa, the German sāvant (1486-1535). His *De Vanitate Scientiarum* was a familiar work in Sidney's time.

³ Cf. *Enconium Moriæ*, Praise of Folly (1510).

yet, presuppose it were inseparable (as indeede it seemeth *Scaliger*¹ judgeth) truelie it were an inseparable commendation. For if *Oratio*, next to *Ratio*, Speech next to Reason, bee the greatest gyft bestowed upon mortalitie: that can not be praiselesse, which dooth most pollish that blessing of speech, which considers each word, not only (as a man may say) by his forcible qualitie, but by his best measured quantitie, carrying even in themselves, a Harmonie: (without (perchaunce) Number, Measure, Order, Proportion, be in our time growne odious.) But lay a side the just prayse it hath, by beeing the onely fit speech for Musick, (Musick I say, the most divine striker of the sences :) thus much is undoubtedly true, that if reading bee foolish, without remembring, memorie being the onely treasurer of knowled[g]e, those words which are fittest for memory, are likewise most convenient for knowledge.

Now, that Verse farre exceedeth Prose in the knitting up of the Memory, the reason is manifest. The words, (besides theyr delight which hath a great affinitie to memory,) beeing so set, as one word cannot be lost, but the whole

¹ Julius Cæsar Scaliger (1484-1558). His *Poetics* was a favourite book of Sidney's.

worke failes : which accuseth it selfe, calleth the remembrance backe to it selfe, and so most strongly confirmeth it ; besides, one word so as it were begetting another, as be it in ryme or measured verse, by the former a man shall have a neere gesse to the follower : lastly, even they that have taught the Art of memory, have shewed nothing so apt for it, as a certaine roome devided into many places well and throughly knowne. Now, that hath the verse in effect perfectly : every word having his naturall seate, which seate, must needes make the words remembred. But what needeth more in a thing so knowne to all men ? who is it that ever was a scholler, that doth not carry away some verses of *Virgill*, *Horace*, or *Cato*,¹ which in his youth he learned, and even to his old age serve him for howrely lessons ? but the fitnes it hath for memory, is notably proved by all delivery of Arts : wherein for the most part, from Grammer, to Logick, Mathematick, Phisick, and the rest, the rules chiefly necessary to bee borne away, are compiled in verses. So that, verse being in it selfe sweete and orderly, and beeing best for memory, the onely handle of

¹ Dionysius Cato ; whose *Disticha* was a favourite schoolbook in the edition Erasmus published in 1523. Scaliger the younger also edited it.

knowledge, it must be in jest that any man can speake against it. Nowe then goe wee to the most important imputations laid to the poore Poets, for ought I can yet learne, they are these, first, that there beeing many other more fruitfull knowledges, a man might better spend his tyme in them, then in this. Secondly, that it is the mother of lyes. Thirdly, that it is the Nurse of abuse, infecting us with many pestilent desires: with a Syrens sweetnes, drawing the mind to the Serpents tayle of sinfull fancy. And heerein especially, Comedies give the largest field to erre, as *Chaucer* sayth: howe both in other Nations and in ours, before Poets did soften us, we were full of courage, given to martiall exercises; the pillers of manlyke liberty, and not lulled a sleepe in shady idlenes with Poets pastimes. And lastly, and chiefly, they cry out with an open mouth, as if they out-shot *Robin Hood*, that *Plato* banished them out of hys Common-wealth.¹ Truly, this is much, if there be much truth in it. First to the first: that a man might better spend his time, is a reason indeede: but it doth (as they say) but *Petere principium*: for

¹ Sidney is now referring more particularly to Gosson, and his *Schoole of Abuse*.

if it be as I affirme, that no learning is so good, as that which teacheth and mooveth to vertue; and that none can both teach and move thereto so much as Poetry: then is the conclusion manifest, that Incke and Paper cannot be to a more profitable purpose employed. And certainly, though a man should graunt their first assumption, it should followe (me thinkes) very unwillingly, that good is not good, because better is better. But I still and utterly denye, that there is sprong out of earth a more fruitfull knowledge. To the second therefore, that they should be the principall lyars; I aunswere paradoxically, but truely, I thinke truely; that of all Writers under the sunne, the Poet is the least liar; and though he would, as a Poet can scarcely be a lyer, the Astronomer, with his cosen the Geometrician, can hardly escape, when they take upon them to measure the height of the starres.

How often, thinke you, doe the Phisitions lye, when they aver things, good for sicknesses, which afterwards send *Charon* a great number of soules drown'd in a potion before they come to his Ferry. And no lesse of the rest, which take upon them to affirme. Now, for the Poet, he nothing affirms, and therefore

never lyeth. For, as I take it, to lye, is to affirme that to be true which is false. So as the other Artists, and especially the Historian, affirming many things, can in the cloudy knowledge of mankinde, hardly escape from many lyes. But the Poet (as I sayd before) never affirmeth. The Poet never maketh any circles about your imagination, to conjure you to beleeeve for true what he writes. Hee citeth not authorities of other Histories, but even for hys entry, calleth the sweete Muses to inspire into him a good invention: in troth, not labouring to tell you what is, or is not, but what should or should not be: and therefore, though he recount things not true, yet because hee telleth them not for true, he lyeth not, without we will say, that *Nathan*, lyed in his speech, before alledged to *David*. Which as a wicked man durst scarce say, so think I, none so simple would say, that *Esope* lyed in the tales of his beasts: for who thinks that *Esope* writ it for actually true, were well worthy to have his name c[h]ronicled among the beastes hee writeth of.

What childe is there, that comming to a Play, and seeing *Thebes* written in great Letters upon an olde doore, doth beleeeve that it is *Thebes*? If then, a man can arive, at that

child's age, to know that the Poets persons and dooings, are but pictures what should be, and not stories what have beene, they will never give the lye, to things not affirmatively, but allegorically, and figurativelie written. And therefore, as in Historie, looking for trueth, they goe away full fraught with falsehood : so in Poesie, looking for fiction, they shal use the narration, but as an imaginative ground-plot of a profitable invention.

But heceto is replyed, that the Poets gyve names to men they write of, which argueth a conceite of an actuall truth, and so, not being true, prooves a falsehood. And doth the Lawyer lye then, when under the names of *John a stile* and *John a noakes*,¹ hee puts his case? But that is easily answered. Their naming of men, is but to make theyr picture the more lively, and not to builde any historie : paynting men, they cannot leave men namelesse. We see we cannot play at Chesse, but that wee must give names to our Chesse-men ; and yet mee thinks, hee were a very partiall Champion of truth, that would say we lyed, for giving a peece of wood, the reverend title of a

¹ Fictitious names used by lawyers in actions of ejectment, etc. 'The Doe and Roe of the ancient Law-courts' (Shuckbrugh).

Bishop. The Poet nameth *Cyrus* or *Aeneas*, no other way, then to shewe, what men of theyr fames, fortunes, and estates, should doe.

Their third is, how much it abuseth mens wit, trayning it to wanton sinfulness, and lustfull love: for indeed that is the principall, if not the onely abuse I can heare alledged. They say, the Comedies rather teach, then reprehend, amorous conceits. They say, the Lirick, is larded with passionate Sonnets. The Elegiack, weepes the want of his mistresse. And that even to the Heroical, *Cupid* hath ambitiously climed. Alas Love, I would, thou couldest as well defende thy selfe, as thou canst offende others. I would those, on whom thou doost attend, could eyther put thee away, or yeelede good reason, why they keepe thee. But grant love of beautie, to be a beastlie fault, (although it be very hard, sith onely man, and no beast, hath that gyft, to discern beauty.¹) Grant, that lovely name of Love, to deserve all hatefull reproches: (although even some of my Maisters the Phylosophers, spent a good deale of theyr Lamp-oyle, in setting foorth the excellencie of

¹ Cf. The *Arcadia*, lib. iii. p. 261 (fol. 1662). ‘But that the beauty of humane persons is beyond all other things, there is great likelihood of reason; since to them onely is given the judgement to discern beauty.’

it.) Grant, I say, what soever they wil have granted; that not onely love, but lust, but vanitie, but, (if they list) scurrilitie, possesseth many leaves of the Poets bookes: yet thinke I, when this is granted, they will finde, theyr sentence may with good manners, put the last words foremost: and not say, that Poetrie abuseth mans wit, but that, mans wit abuseth Poetrie.

For I will not denie, but that mans wit may make Poesie, (which should be *Eikastike*, which some learned have defined, figuring foorth good things,) to be *Phantastike*:¹ which doth contrariwise, infect the fancie with unworthy objects. As the Painter, that shoulde give to the eye, eyther some excellent perspective, or some fine picture, fit for building or fortification: or contayning in it some notable example, as *Abraham*, sacrificing his Sonne *Isaack*, *Judith* killing *Holofernes*, *David* fighting with *Goliah*, may leave those, and please an ill-pleased eye, with wanton shewes of better hidden matters. But what, shall the abuse of a thing, make the right use odious?

¹ Cf. Plato, *Sophistes*, 235-6. Sidney does not quite follow Plato's distinction, which is between *actual* and *ideal* imitation in art. An *Eikastic*-likeness is an exact and close one; a *Fantastic*, an ideal one.

Nay truely, though I yeeld, that Poesie may not onely be abused, but that beeing abused, by the reason of his sweete charming force, it can doe more hurt than any other Armie of words : yet shall it be so far from concluding, that the abuse, should give reproch to the abused, that contrariwise it is a good reason, that whatsoever being abused, dooth most harme, beeing rightly used : (and upon the right use each thing conceiveth his title) doth most good.

Doe wee not see the skill of Phisick, (the best rampire to our often-assaulted bodies) beeing abused, teach poyson the most violent destroyer ? Dooth not knowledge of Law, whose end is, to even and right all things being abused, grow the crooked fosterer of horrible injuries ? Doth not (to goe to the highest) Gods word abused, breed heresie ? and his Name abused, become blasphemie ? Truely, a needle cannot doe much hurt, and as truely, (with leave of Ladies be it spoken) it cannot doe much good. With a sword, thou maist kill thy Father, and with a sword thou maist defende thy Prince and Country. So that, as in their calling Poets the Fathers of lyes, they say nothing : so in this theyr argument of abuse, they proove the commendation.

They alledge heere-with, that before Poets

beganne to be in price, our Nation, hath set their harts delight upon action, and not upon imagination: rather doing things worthy to bee written, then writing things fitte to be done. What that before tyme was, I thinke scarcely *Sphinx* can tell: Sith no memory is so auncient, that hath the precedence of Poetrie. And certaine it is, that in our plainest home-lines, yet never was the *Albion* Nation without Poetrie. Mary, thys argument, though it bee leaveld against Poetrie, yet is it indeed, a chaine-shot¹ against all learning, or bookishnes, as they commonly tearme it. Of such minde were certaine *Gothes*, of whom it is written, that having in the spoile of a famous Citie, taken a fayre librarie: one hangman (bee like fitte to execute the fruites of their wits) who had murthered a great number of bodies, would have set fire on it: no sayde another, very gravely, take heede what you doe, for whyle they are busie about these toyes, wee shall with more leysure conquer their Countries.

This indeede is the ordinary doctrine of ignorance, and many wordes sometymes I have heard spent in it: but because this reason is

¹ Mr A. S. Cook says ('Defence of Poesy,' Boston, 1890) this is the earliest occurrence of the word. Chaine-shots were made of bullets, chained together, chiefly used in sea-fights.

generally against all learning, as well as Poetrie; or rather, all learning but Poetry: because it were too large a digression, to handle, or at least, to superfluous: (sith it is manifest, that all government of action, is to be gotten by knowledg, and knowledge best, by gathering many knowledges, which is, reading,) I onely with *Horace*, to him that is of that opinion,

Iubeo stultum esse libenter:¹

for as for Poetrie it selfe, it is the freest from thys objection. For Poetrie is the companion of the Campos.

I dare undertake, *Orlando Furioso*, or honest King *Arthur*, will never displease a Souldier: but the quiddity of *Ens*, and *Prima materia*,² will hardely agree with a Corslet: and therefore, as I said in the beginning, even Turks and Tartares are delighted with Poets. *Homer* a Greek, florished, before Greece florished. And if to a slight conjecture, a conjecture may be opposed: truly it may seeme, that as by him, their learned men, tooke almost their first light of knowledge, so their active men received their first notions of courage. Onlie *Alexanders*

¹ Cf. *Horace, Satires*, l. 1, 63.

² *Ens* and *Prima materia*. Discussion of the essence of Being, of the prime matter and first beginnings of the earth, were much in vogue at this time.

example may serve, who by *Plutarch* is accounted of such vertue, that Fortune was not his guide, but his foote-stoole: whose acts speake for him, though *Plutarch* did not: indeede, the Phoenix of warlike Princes. This *Alexander*, left his Schoolemaister, living *Aristotle*, behinde him, but tooke deade *Homer* with him: he put the Philosopher *Calisthenes*¹ to death, for his seeming philosophicall, indeed mutinous stubburnnes. But the chiefe thing he ever was heard to wish for, was, that *Homer* had been alive. He well found he received more braverie of minde, bye the patterne of *Achilles*, then by hearing the definition of Fortitude: and therefore, if *Cato* misliked *Fulvius*, for carrying *Ennius* with him to the fiede, it may be aunswered, that if *Cato* misliked it, the noble *Fulvius* liked it, or els he had not doone it: for it was not the excellent *Cato Uticensis*, (whose authority I would much more have revered,) but it was the former:² in truth, a bitter punisher of faults, but else, a man that had never wel sacrificed to the Graces. Hee misliked and cryed out upon all Greeke learning, and yet being 80 yeeres olde, began to learne it; be-like, fearing that *Pluto* under-

¹ Cf. *Plutarch, Alexander*, c. 55.

² I.e. M. Porcius Cato; Cato Censorius.

stood not Latine. Indeede, the Romaine lawes allowed, no person to be carried to the warres, but hee that was in the Souldiers role : and therefore, though *Cato* misliked his unmustered person, hee misliked not his worke. And if hee had, *Scipio Nasica*¹ judged by common consent, the best Romaine, loved him. Both the other *Scipio* Brothers, who had by their vertues no lesse surnames, then of *Asia*, and *Affrick*, so loved him, that they caused his body to be buried in their Sepulcher. So as *Cato*, his authoritie being but against his person, and that aunswered, with so farre greater then himselfe, is heerein of no validitie. But now indeede my burthen is great ; now *Plato* his name is layde upon mee, whom I must confesse, of all Philosophers, I have ever esteemed most worthy of reverence, and with great reason : Sith of all Philosophers, he is the most poeticall. Yet if he will defile the Fountaine, out of which his flowing streames have proceeded, let us boldly examine with what reasons hee did it. First truly, a man might maliciously object, that *Plato* being a Philosopher was a naturall enemy of Poets : for indeede, after the Philosophers, had picked out of thes weete misteries of Poetrie, the right discerning true points of

¹ Cf. Livy, 29. 14.

knowledge, they forthwith putting it in method, and making a Schoole-arte of that which the Poets did onely teach, by a divine delightfulness, beginning to spurne at their guides, like ungratefull Prentises, were not content to set up shops for themselves, but fought by all meanes to discredit their Maisters. Which by the force of delight being barred them, the lesse they could overthrow them, the more they hated them. For indeede, they found for *Homer*, seaven Cities strove,¹ who should have him for their Citizen : where many Citties banished Philosophers, as not fitte members to live among them. For onely repeating certaine of *Euripides* verses,² many *Athenians* had their lyves saved of the *Siracusians* : when the *Athenians* themselves, thought many Philosophers, unwoorthie to live.

Certaine Poets, as *Simonides*, and *Pindarus* had so prevailed with *Hiero* the first, that of a Tirant they made him a just King, where *Plato* could do so little with *Dionisius*, that he himselfe, of a Philosopher, was made a slave. But who should doe thus, I confesse, should requite the objections made against Poets, with like

¹ 'Athens, Argos, Colophon,
Chios, Smyrna, Rhodes, and one
Now forgot, make cities seven,
Claim him that only came from heaven !'

² Cf. Plutarch ; 'Nicias,' c. 29.

cavillation against Philosophers, as likewise one should doe, that should bid one read *Phædrus*, or *Symposium* in *Plato*, or the discourse of love in *Plutarch*, and see whether any Poet doe authorize abhominable filthines, as they doe. Againe, a man might aske out of what Commonwealth *Plato* did banish them? insooth, thence where he himselfe alloweth communitie of women.¹ So as belike, this banishment grewe not for effeminate wantonnes, sith little should poetically Sonnets be hurtfull, when a man might have what woman he listed. But I honor philosophicall instructions, and blesse the wits which bred them: so as they be not abused, which is likewise stretched to Poetrie.

S. Paule himselfe, (who yet for the credite of Poets) alledgeth twise two Poets,² and one of them by the name of a Prophet, setteth a watch-word upon Philosophy, indeede upon the abuse. So dooth *Plato*, upon the abuse, not upon Poetrie. *Plato* found fault, that the Poets of his time filled the worlde with wrong opinions of the Gods, making light tales of that unspotted essence; and therefore, would not have the youth depraved with such opinions.

¹ *Repub.*, 5. 449-462.

² *Aratus* of Cilicia, *Cleanthes*, *Epimenides* of Crete, and the dramatist *Menander*; cf. *Milton's Areopagitica*.

Heerin may much be said, let this suffice: the Poets did not induce such opinions, but dyd imitate those opinions already induced. For all the Greek stories can well testifie, that the very religion of that time, stooode upon many, and many-fashioned Gods, not taught so by the Poets, but followed, according to their nature of imitation. Who list, may reade in *Plutarch*, the discourses of *Isis* and *Osiris*, of the cause why Oracles ceased, of the divine providence: and see, whether the Theologie of that nation, stood not upon such dreames, which the Poets indeed supersticiously observed, and truly, (sith they had not the light of Christ,) did much better in it then the Philosophers, who shaking off superstition, brought in Atheisme. *Plato* therefore, (whose authoritie I had much rather justly conster, then unjustly {resist,}) meant not in general of Poets, in those words of which *Julius Scaliger* saith *Qua autoritate, barbari quidam, atque hispidi, abuti velint, ad Poetas é republica exigendos*:¹ but only meant, to drive out those wrong opinions of the Deitie (whereof now, without further law, Christianity hath taken away all the hurtful believe,) perchance (as he thought) norished by the then esteemed Poets.

¹ *Poetics*, 1. p. 5 (ed. 1561). (Shuckbrugh.)

And a man need goe no further than to *Plato* himselfe, to know his meaning: who in his Dialogue called *Ion*, giveth high, and rightly divine commendation to Poetrie. So as *Plato*, banishing the abuse, not the thing, not banishing it, but giving due honor unto it, shall be our Patron, and not our adversarie. For indeed I had much rather, (sith truly I may doe it) shew theyr mistaking of *Plato*, (under whose Lyons skin they would make an Asse-like braying against Poesie,) then goe about to over-throw his authority, whom the wiser a man is, the more just cause he shall find to have in admiration: especially, sith he attributeth unto Poesie, more then my selfe doe; namely, to be a very inspiring of a divine force, farre above mans wit; as in the aforenamed Dialogue is apparent.

Of the other side, who wold shew the honors, have been by the best sort of judgements granted them, a whole Sea of examples woulde present themselves. *Alexanders*, *Cæsars*, *Scipios*, al favorers of Poets. *Lelius*, called the Romane *Socrates*, himselfe a Poet: so as part of *Heautontimorumenon* in *Terence*, was supposed to be made by him.¹ And even

¹ Terence did not like the imputation; see the prologue to the play in question.

the Greek *Socrates*, whom *Apollo* confirmed to be the onely wise man, is sayde to have spent part of his old tyme, in putting *Esops* fables into verses.¹ And therefore, full evill should it become his scholler *Plato*, to put such words in his Maisters mouth, against Poets. But what need more? *Aristotle* writes the *Arte* of Poesie: and why if it should not be written? *Plutarch* teacheth the use to be gathered of them, and how if they should not be read? And who reades *Plutarchs* eyther historie or philosophy, shall finde, hee trymmeth both theyr garments, with gards of Poesie. But I list not to defend Poesie, with the helpe of her underling, Historiography. Let it suffise, that it is a fit soyle for prayse to dwell upon: and what dispraise may set upon it, is eyther easily overcome, or transformed into just commendation. So that, sith the excellencies of it, may be so easily, and so justly confirmed, and the low-creeping objections, so soone troden downe; it not being an Art of lyes, but of true doctrine: not of effeminatenes, but of notable stirring of courage: not of abusing mans witte, but of strengthning mans wit: not banished, but honored by *Plato*: let us rather plant more Laurels, for to engarland our Poets heads,

¹ Cf. *Plato*: *Phædo*, 2.

(which honor of beeing laureat, as besides them, onely tryumphant Captaines weare, is a sufficient authority, to shewe the price they ought to be had in,) then suffer the ill-favouring breath of such wrong-speakers, once to blowe upon the cleere springs of Poesie.

But sith I have runne so long a careere in this matter, me thinks, before I give my penne a fulle stop, it shal be but a little more lost time, to inquire, why England, (the Mother of excellent mindes,) shoulde bee growneso hard a step-mother to Poets, who certainly in wit ought to passe all other : sith all onely proceedeth from their wit, being indeede makers of themselves, not takers of others. How can I but exclaime,

Musa mihi causas memora, quo numine læso.

Sweete Poesie, that hath aunciently had Kings, Emperors, Senators, great Captaines, such, as besides a thousand others, *David*, *Adrian*, *Sophocles*, *Germanicus*, not onely to favour Poets, but to be Poets. And of our neerer times, can present for her Patrons, a *Robert*, King of Sicil,¹ the great king *Francis* of France,² King *James* of Scotland. Such Cardinals as *Bembus*,³ and *Bibiena*.⁴ Such famous Preachers

¹ Robert d'Anjou, 1309-1343.

² Francis the First.

³ Bembo, 1470-1547. ⁴ Bernard of Bibbiena, 1470-1520.

and Teachers, as *Beza* and *Melancthon*. So learned Philosophers, as *Fracastorius*¹ and *Scaliger*. So great Orators, as *Pontanus* and *Muretus*.² So piercing wits, as *George Buchanan*.³ So grave Counsellors, as besides many, but before all, that *Hospitall*⁴ of Fraunce : then whom, (I thinke) that Realme never brought forth a more accomplished judgement : more firmly builded upon vertue. I say these, with numbers of others, not onely to read others Poesies, but to poetise for others reading, that Poesie thus embraced in all other places, should onely finde in our time, a hard welcome in England, I thinke the very earth lamenteth it, and therefore decketh our Soyle with fewer Laurels then it was accustomed. For heertofore, Poets have in England also florished. And which is to be noted, even in those times, when the trumpet of *Mars* did sounde loudest. And now, that an overfaint quietnes should seeme to strew the house for Poets, they are almost in as good reputation, as the *Mountibancks* at *Venice*. Truly even that, as of the

¹ Hieronymus Fracastorius of Verona, a famous physician, philosopher and poet of the 16th century.

² Muret, Marc Antoine, 1526-1585.

³ Historian, epigrammatist, poet, playwright, &c.

⁴ Michel de l'Hospital, 1505-1573. For some years Chancellor of France ; a wise and tolerant statesman.

one side, it giveth great praise to Poesie, which like *Venus*, (but to better purpose) hath rather be troubled in the net with *Mars*, they enjoy the homelie quiet of *Vulcan* : so serves it for a peece of reason, why they are lesse gratefull to idle England, which nowe can scarce endure the payne of a pen. Upon this, necessarily followeth, that base men, with servile wits undertake it : who think it inough, if they can be rewarded of the Printer. And so as *Epaminondas* is sayd, with the honor of his vertue, to have made an office, by his exercising it, which before was contemptible, to become highly respected : so these, no more but setting their names to it, by their owne disgracefulnes, disgrace the most gracefull Poesie. For now, as if all the Muses were gotte with childe, to bring foorth bastard Poets, without any commission, they doe poste over the banckes of *Helicon*, tyll they make the readers more weary then Post-horses : while in the mean tyme, they

Queis meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan,

are better content, to suppress the out-flowing of their wit, then by publishing them, to bee accounted Knights of the same order. But I, that before ever I durst aspire unto the dignitie, am admitted into the company of the Paper-

blurrers, doe finde the very true cause of our wanting estimation, is want of desert : taking upon us to be Poets, in¹ despight of *Pallas*. Nowe, wherein we want desert, were a thanke-worthy labour to expresse : but if I knew, I should have mended my selfe. But I, as I never desired the title, so have I neglected the meanes to come by it. Onely over-mastred by some thoughts, I yeelded an inckie tribute unto them. Mary, they that delight in Poesie it selfe, should seeke to knowe what they doe, and how they doe ; and especially, looke themselves in an unflattering Glasse of reason, if they bee inclinable unto it. For Poesie, must not be drawne by the eares, it must bee gently led, or rather, it must lead. Which was partly the cause, that made the auncient-learned affirme, it was a divine gift, and no humaine skill : sith all other knowledges, lie ready for any that hath strength of witte : A Poet, no industrie can make, if his owne *Genius* bee not carried unto it : and therefore is it an old Proverbe, *Orator fit ; Poeta nascitur*. Yet confesse I alwayes, that as the firtilest ground must bee manured, so must the highest flying wit, have a *Dedalus* to guide him. That *Dedalus*, they say, both in this, and in other, hath three wings, to beare

¹ ‘Invita Minerva.’

it selfe up into the ayre of due commendation : that is, Arte, Imitation, and Exercise. But these, neyther artificiall rules, nor imitative patternes, we much cumber our selves withall. Exercise indeede wee doe, but that, very fore-backwardly : for where we should exercise to know, wee exercise as having knowne : and so is oure braine delivered of much matter, which never was begotten by knowledge. For, there being two principal parts, matter to be expressed by wordes, and words to expresse the matter, in neyther, wee use Arte, or Imitation, rightly. Our matter is *Quodlibet* indeed, though wrongly performing *Ovids* verse.

Quicquid conabar dicere versus erit : ¹

never marshallling it into an assured rancke, that almost the readers cannot tell where to finde themselves.

Chaucer, undoutedly did excellently in hys *Troylus* and *Cresseid* ; of whom, truly I know not, whether to mervaile more, either that he in that mistie time, could see so clearely, or that wee in this cleare age, walke so stumblingly after him. Yet had he great wants, fitte to be forgiven, in so reverent antiquity. I account

¹ Ovid, *Tristia*, 4. 10, 26 :

‘ Et quod temptabam dicere, versus erat.’

the *Mirroure of Magistrates*,¹ meetely furnished of beautiful parts; and in the Earle of Surries *Liricks*,² many things tasting of a noble birth, and worthy of a noble minde. The *Sheapheards Kalender*,³ hath much Poetrie in his Eglogues: indeede worthy the reading if I be not deceived. That same framing of his stile, to an old rustick language, I dare not alowe, sith neyther *Theocritus* in Greeke, *Virgill* in Latine, nor *Sanazar* in Italian, did affect it. Besides these, doe I not remember to have seene but fewe, (to speake boldely) printed, that have poeticall sinnewes in them: for prooffe whereof, let but most of the verses bee put in Prose, and then aske the meaning; and it will be found, that one verse did but beget another, without ordering at the first, what should be at the last: which becomes a confused masse of words, with a tingling sound of ryme, barely accompanied with reason.

Our Tragedies, and Comedies, (not without cause cried out against,) observing rules, neyther of honest civilitie, nor of skilfull Poetrie, excepting *Gorboduck*,⁴ (againe, I say, of those

¹ A collection of Tales in verse, published 1559.

² First printed in 1557, ten years after his execution.

³ Dedicated by Spenser to Maister Philip Sidney, 1579.

⁴ A blank verse Tragedy, by Thomas Sackville and T. Norton, and first acted in 1561.

that I have seen,) which notwithstanding, as it is full of stately speeches, and well founding Phrases, clyming to the height of *Seneca* his stile, and as full of notable moralitie, which it doth most delightfully teach ; and so obtayne the very end of Poesie : yet in troth it is very defectious in the circumstaunces ; which greeveth mee, because it might not remaine as an exact model of all Tragedies. For it is faulty both in place, and time, the two necessary companions of all corporall actions. For where the stage should alwaies represent but one place, and the uttermost time presupposed in it, should be, both by *Aristotle's*¹ precept, and common reason, but one day : there is both many dayes, and many places, inartificially imagined. But if it be so in *Gorboduck*, how much more in al the rest ? where you shal have *Asia* of the one side, and *Affrick* of the other, and so many other under-kingdoms, that the Player, when he commeth in, must ever begin with telling where he is : or els, the tale wil not be conceived. Now ye shal have three Ladies, walke to gather flowers, and then we must beleewe

¹ ἡ μὲν ὅτι μάλιστα πειρᾶται ὑπὸ μίαν περίοδον ἡλίον εἶναι ἢ μικρὸν ἐξαλλάττειν. 'Tragedy attempts as far as possible, not to extend the action beyond twenty-four hours, or at any rate very little further.'

the stage to be a Garden. By and by, we heare newes of shipwracke in the same place, and then wee are to blame, if we accept it not for a Rock.

Upon the backe of that, comes out a hidious Monster, with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders, are bounde to take it for a Cave. While in the mean-time, two Armies flye in, represented with foure swords and bucklers, and then what harde heart will not receive it for a pitched field? Now, of time they are much more liberall, for ordinary it is that two young Princes fall in love. After many traverces, she is got with childe, delivered of a faire boy, he is lost, groweth a man, falls in love, and is ready to get another child, and all this in two hours space: which how absurd it is in sence, even sence may imagine, and Arte hath taught, and all auncient examples justified: and at this day, the ordinary Players in Italie, wil not erre in. Yet wil some bring in an example of *Eunuchus* in *Terence*, that containeth matter of two dayes, yet far short of twenty yeeres. True it is, and so was it to be playd in two daies, and so fitted to the time it set forth. And though *Plautus* hath in one place done amisse, let us hit with him, and not misse with him. But they wil say, how then shal we set forth a

story, which containeth both many places, and many times? And doe they not knowe, that a Tragedie is tied to the lawes of Poesie, and not of Historie? not bound to follow the storie, but having liberty, either to faine a quite newe matter, or to frame the history, to the most tragicall conveniencie. Againe, many things may be told, which cannot be shewed, if they knowe the difference betwixt reporting and representing. As for example, I may speake, (though I am heere) of *Peru*, and in speech, digresse from that, to the description of *Calicut*: but in action, I cannot represent it without *Pacolets* horse: and so was the manner the Auncients tooke, by some *Nuncius*, to recount thinges done in former time, or other place. Lastly, if they wil represent an history, they must not (as *Horace* saith) beginne *Ab ovo*: but they must come to the principall poynt of that one action, which they wil represent. By example this wil be best expressed. I have a story of young *Polidorus*,¹ delivered for safeties sake, with great riches, by his Father *Priamus* to *Polimnestor* king of *Thrace*, in the Troyan war time: Hee after some yeeres, hearing the over-throwne of *Priamus*, for to make the treasure his owne, murthereth

¹ From the *Hecuba* of Euripides.

the child : the body of the child is taken up by *Hecuba* : shee the same day, findeth a slight to bee revenged most cruelly of the Tyrant : where nowe would one of our Tragedy writers begin, but with the delivery of the childe ? Then should he sayle over into *Thrace*, and so spend I know not how many yeeres, and travaile numbers of places. But where dooth *Euripides* ? Even with the finding of the body, leaving the rest to be tolde by the spirit of *Polidorus*. This need no further to be enlarged, the dullest wit may conceive it. But besides these grosse absurdities, how all theyr Playes be neither right Tragedies, nor right Comedies : mingling Kings and Clownes, not because the matter so carrieth it : but thrust in Clownes by head and shoulders, to play a part in majesticall matters, with neither decencie, nor discretion. So as neither the admiration and commiseration, nor the right sportfulness, is by their mungrell Tragy-comedie obtained. I know *Apuleius*¹ did some-what so, but that is a thing recounted with space of time, not represented in one moment : and I knowe, the Auncients have one or two examples of Tragy-comedies, as *Plautus* hath

¹ Sidney probably refers to 'The Golden Ass.'
Apuleius was a writer of the second century A.D.

Amphitrio: But if we marke them well, we shall find, that they never, or very daintily, match Horn-pypes and Funeralls. So falleth it out, that having indeed no right Comedy, in that comicall part of our Tragedy, we have nothing but scurrility, unwoorthy of any chaste eares: or some extreame shew of doltishnes, indeed fit to lift up a loude laughter, and nothing els: where the whole tract¹ of a Comedy, shoulde be full of delight, as the Tragedy shoulde be still maintained, in a well raised admiration. But our Comedians, thinke there is no delight without laughter, which is very wrong, for though laughter may come with delight, yet commeth it not of delight: as though delight should be the cause of laughter, but well may one thing breed both together: nay, rather in themselves, they have as it were, a kind of contrarietie: for delight we scarcely doe, but in things that have a conveniencie to our selves, or to the general nature: laughter, almost ever commeth, of things most disproportioned to our selves, and nature. Delight hath a joy in it, either permanent, or present. Laughter, hath onely a scornful tickling.

For example, we are ravished with delight

¹ (*Lat.* tractus; a drawing out) course.

to see a faire woman, and yet are far from being moved to laughter. We laugh at deformed creatures, wherein certainly we cannot delight. We delight in good chaunces, we laugh at mischaunces; we delight to heare the happines of our friends, or Country; at which he were worthy to be laughed at, that would laugh; wee shall contrarily laugh sometimes, to finde a matter quite mistaken, and goe downe the hill agaynst the byas, in the mouth of some such men, as for the respect of them, one shal be hartely sorry, yet he cannot chuse but laugh; and so is rather pained then delighted with laughter. Yet deny I not, but that they may goe well together, for as in *Alexanders* picture well set out, wee delight without laughter, and in twenty mad Anticks we laugh without delight: so in *Hercules*, painted with his great beard, and furious countenance, in womans attire, spinning at *Omphales* commaundement, it breedeth both delight and laughter. For the representing of so strange a power in love, procureth delight: and the scornewfulnes of the action, stirreth laughter. But I speake to this purpose, that all the end of the comicall part, bee not upon such scornewfull matters, as stirreth laughter onely: but mixt with it, that

delightful teaching which is the end of Poesie. And the great fault even in that point of laughter, and forbidden plainely by *Aristotle*, is, that they styrre laughter in sinfull things ; which are rather execrable then ridiculous : or in miserable, which are rather to be pittied than scorned. For what is it to make folkes gape at a wretched Begger, or a beggerly Clowne ? or against lawe of hospitality, to jest at straungers, because they speake not English so well as wee doe ? what do we learne, sith it is certaine

Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit.

But rather a busy loving Courtier, a hartles threatening *Thraso*.¹ A selfe - wise - seeming schoolemaster. A awry-transformed Traveller. These, if we sawe walke in stage names, which wee play naturally, therein were delightfull laughter, and teaching delightfulness : as in the other, the Tragedies of *Buchanan*, doe justly bring forth a divine admiration. But I have lavished out too many wordes of this play matter. I doe it because as they are excelling parts of Poesie, so is there none so much used in England, and none can be more pittifully

¹ In the *Eunuchus* of Terence.

abused. Which like an unmannerly Daughter, shewing a bad education, causeth her mother Poesies honesty, to bee called in question. Other sorts of Poetry almost have we none, but that Lyricall kind of Songs and Sonnets: which, Lord, if he gave us so good mindes, how well it might be imployed, and with howe heavenly fruite, both private and publique, in singing the prayses of the immortall beauty: the immortall goodnes of that God, who gyveth us hands to write, and wits to conceive, of which we might well want words, but never matter, of which, we could turne our eies to nothing, but we should ever have new budding occasions. But truely many of such writings, as come under the banner of unresistable love, if I were a Mistres, would never perswade mee they were in love: so coldely they apply fiery speeches, as men that had rather red Lovers writings; and so caught up certaine swelling phrases, which hang together, like a man which once tolde mee, the winde was at North, West, and by South, because he would be sure to name windes enowe: then that in truth they feele those passions, which easily (as I think) may be bewrayed, by that same forciblenes, or *Energia*, (as the Greekes cal it) of the writer. But let this bee a sufficient, though short note,

that wee misse the right use of the materiall point of Poesie.

Now, for the outside of it, which is words, or (as I may tearme it) *Diction*, it is even well worse. So is that honey-flowing Matron Eloquence, apparelled, or rather disguised, in a Curtizan-like painted affectation: one time with so farre¹ fette words, they may seeme Monsters: but must seeme straungers to any poore English man. Another tyme, with coursing of a Letter, as if they were bound to followe the method of a Dictionary: an other tyme, with figures and flowers, extreamelie winter-starved. But I would this fault were only peculier to Versifiers, and had not as large possession among Prose-printers; and, (which is to be mervailed) among many Schollers; and, (which is to be pittied) among some Preachers. Truly I could wish, if at least I might be so bold, to wish in a thing beyond the reach of my capacity, the diligent imitators of *Tullie*, and *Demosthenes*, (most worthy to be imitated) did not so much keep *Nizolian*² Paper-bookes of their figures and phrases, as by attentive translation (as it were) devoure

¹ Cf. p. 95, l. 17.

² Nizzolius, a lexicographer of the 16th century, author of the *Thesaurus Ciceronianus*.

them whole, and make them wholly theirs : For nowe they cast Sugar and Spice, upon every dish that is served to the table ; Like those Indians, not content to weare eare-rings at the fit and naturall place of the eares, but they will thrust Jewels through their nose, and lippes because they will be sure to be fine.

Tullie, when he was to drive out *Cateline*, as it were with a Thunder-bolt of eloquence, often used that figure of repitition,¹ *Vivit vivit ? imo in Senatum venit &c.* Indeed, inflamed with a well-grounded rage, hee would have his words (as it were) double out of his mouth : and so doe that artificially, which we see men doe in choller naturally. And wee, having noted the grace of those words, hale them in sometime to a familiar Epistle, when it were to too much choller to be chollerick. Now for similitudes, in certaine printed discourses, I thinke all Herbarists, all stories of Beasts, Foules, and Fishes, are rifled up, that they come in multitudes, to waite upon any of our conceits ; which certainly is as absurd a surfet to the eares, as is possible : for the force of a similitude, not being to proove anything to a contrary Disputer, but onely to explaine to a willing hearer, when that is done, the rest is a most

¹ Cicero, *In Catilinam*, 1. § 2.

tedious prating: rather over - swaying the memory from the purpose whereto they were applyed, then any whit informing the judgement, already eyther satisfied, or by similitudes not to be satis-fied. For my part, I doe not doubt, when *Antonius* and *Crassus*,¹ the great forefathers of *Cicero* in eloquence, the one (as *Cicero* testifieth of them) pretended not to know Arte, the other, not to set by it: because with a playne sensiblenes, they might win credit of popular eares; which credit, is the neerest step to perswasion: which perswasion, is the chiefe marke of Oratory; I doe not doubt (I say) but that they used these tracks very sparingly, which who doth generally use, any man may see doth daunce to his owne musick: and so be noted by the audience, more careful to speake curiously, then to speake truly.

Undoubtedly, (at least to my opinion undoubtedly,) I have found in divers smally learned Courtiers, a more sounde stile, then in some professors of learning: of which I can gesse no other cause, but that the Courtier following that which by practise hee findeth fittest to nature, therein, (though he know it not,) doth according to Art, though not by

¹ Marcus Antonius and L. Crassus, celebrated orators of the 2nd century B.C. Both are mentioned by Cicero.

Art: where the other, using Art to shew Art, and not to hide Art, (as in these cases he should doe) flyeth from nature, and indeede abuseth Art.

But what? me thinkes I deserve to be pounded, for straying from Poetrie to Oratorie: but both have such an affinity in this wordish consideration, that I thinke this digression, will make my meaning receive the fuller understanding: which is not to take upon me to teach Poets howe they should doe, but onely finding my selfe sick among the rest, to shewe some one or two spots of the common infection, growne among the most part of Writers: that acknowledging our selves somewhat awry, we may bend to the right use both of matter and manner; whereto our language gyveth us great occasion, beeing indeed capable of any excellent exercising of it. I know, some will say it is a mingled language. And why not so much the better, taking the best of both the other? Another will say it wanteth Grammer. Nay truly, it hath that prayse, that it wanteth not Grammer: for Grammer it might have, but it needes it not; beeing so easie of it selfe, and so voyd of those cumbersome differences of Cases, Genders, Moodes, and Tenses, which I thinke was a peece of the Tower of *Babilons* curse,

that a man should be put to schoole to learne his mother - tongue. But for the uttering sweetly, and properly the conceits of the minde, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world: and is particularly happy, in compositions of two or three words together, neere the Greeke, far beyond the Latine: which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language.

Now, of versifying there are two sorts, the one Auncient, the other Moderne: the Auncient marked the quantitie of each silable, and according to that, framed his verse: the Moderne, observing onely number, (with some regarde of the accent,) the chiefe life of it, standeth in that lyke sounding of the words, which we call Ryme. Whether of these be the most excellent, would beare many speeches. The Auncient, (no doubt) more fit for Musick, both words and tune observing quantity, and more fit lively to expresse divers passions, by the low and lofty sounde of the well-weyed silable. The latter likewise, with hys Ryme, striketh a certaine musick to the eare: and in fine, sith it dooth delight, though by another way, it obtaines the same purpose: there beeing in eyther sweetnes, and wanting in neither majestie. Truely the English, before any

other vulgar language I know, is fit for both sorts: for, for the Ancient, the Italian is so full of Vowels, that it must ever be cumbred with *Elisions*. The Dutch, so of the other side with Consonants, that they cannot yeeld the sweet slyding, fit for a Verse. The French, in his whole language, hath not one word, that hath his accent in the last silable, saving two, called *Antepenultima*, and little more hath the Spanish: and therefore, very gracelesly may they use *Dactiles*. The English is subject to none of these defects.

Nowe, for the ryme, though wee doe not observe quantity, yet wee observe the accent very precisely: which other languages, eyther cannot doe, or will not doe so absolutely. That *Cæsura*, or breathing place in the midst of the verse, neither Italian nor Spanish have, the French, and we, never almost fayle of. Lastly, even the very ryme it selfe, the Italian cannot put in the last silable, by the French named the Masculine ryme, but still in the next to the last, which the French call the Female; or the next before that, which the Italians terme *Sdrucciola*. The example of the former, is *Buono, Suono*, of the *Sdrucciola, Femina, Semina*. The French, of the other side, hath both the Male, as *Bon, Son*, and the

Female, as *Plaise, Taise*. But the *Sdrucciola*, hee hath not: where the English hath all three, as *Due, True, Father, Rather, Motion, Potion*; with much more which might be sayd, but that I finde already, the triflingnes of this discourse, is much too much enlarged. So that sith the ever-praise-worthy Poesie, is full of vertue-breeding delightfulness, and voyde of no gyfte, that ought to be in the noble name of learning: sith the blames laid against it, are either false, or feeble: sith the cause why it is not esteemed in Englande, is the fault of Poet-apes, not Poets: sith lastly, our tongue is most fit to honor Poesie, and to bee honored by Poesie, I conjure you all, that have had the evill lucke to reade this incke-wasting toy of mine, even in the name of the nyne Muses, no more to scorne the sacred misteries of Poesie: no more to laugh at the name of Poets, as though they were next inheritours to Fooles: no more to jest at the reverent title of a Rymer: but to beleve with *Aristotle*, that they were the auncient Treasurers, of the Græcians Divinity. To beleve with *Bembus*, that they were first bringers in of all civilitie. To beleve with *Scaliger*, that no Philosophers precepts can sooner make you an honest man, then the reading of *Virgill*. To beleve with

Clouserus,¹ the Translator of *Cornutus*, that it pleased the heavenly Deitie, by *Hesiod* and *Homer*, under the vayle of fables, to give us all knowledge, Logick, Rethorick, Philosophy, naturall, and morall; and *Quid non?* To beleeeve with me, that there are many misteries contained in Poetrie, which of purpose were written darkely, least by prophane wits, it should bee abused. To beleeeve with *Landin*,² that they are so beloved of the Gods, that whatsoever they write, proceeds of a divine fury. Lastly, to beleeeve themselves, when they tell you they will make you immortal, by their verses.

Thus dooing, your name shal florish in the Printers shoppes; thus doing, you shall bee of kinne to many a poetickall Preface; thus doing, you shall be most fayre, most rich, most wise, most all, you shall dwell upon Superlatives. Thus dooing, though you be *Libertino patre natus*, you shall suddenly grow *Hercules proles*:

Si quid mea carmina possunt.

Thus doing, your soul shal be placed with

¹ Conrad Clauser, of Zurich. His translation of *Cornutus* *περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως* was published at Basle in 1543.

² Cristofero Landino, of Florence (1424-1504).

Dantes Beatrix, or *Virgils Anchises*. But if, (fie of such a but) you be borne so neere the dull making *Cataphract of Nilus*, that you cannot heare the Plannet-like Musick of Poetrie, if you have so earth-creeping a mind, that it cannot lift it selfe up, to looke to the sky of Poetrie: or rather, by a certaine rusticall disdain, will become such a Mome, as to be a *Momus*¹ of Poetry: then, though I will not wish unto you, the Asses eares of *Midas*, nor to bee driven by a Poets verses, (as *Bubonax*² was) to hang himselfe, nor to be rimed to death, as is sayd to be doone in Ireland: yet thus much curse I must send you in the behalfe of all Poets, that while you live, you live in love, and never get favour, for lacking skill of a *Sonnet*: and when you die, your memory die from the earth, for want of an *Epitaph*.

¹ *I.e.*, as the classical impersonification of the hyper-critic.

² Sidney here ingeniously alludes to the story of Bupalus and Hipponax.

III

OBSERVATIONS IN THE ART OF ENGLISH POESIE. By THOMAS CAMPION.¹

*To the Right Noble and Worthily Honourd, the
Lord Buckhurst,² Lord High Treasurer
of England.*

IN two things (right honorable) it is generally agreed that man excels all other creatures, in reason and speech : and in them by how much one man surpasseth an other, by so much the nearer he aspires to a celestiall essence.

Poesy in all kind of speaking is the chief beginner and maintayner of eloquence, not only helping the eare with the acquaintance of sweet numbers, but also raying the mind to a

¹ Wherein it is demonstratiuely prooued, and by example confirmed, that the English toong will receiue eight seuerall kinds of numbers, proper to it selfe, which are all in this booke set forth, and were neuer before this time by any man attempted. Printed at London by *Richard Field* for Andrew Wise. 1602.

² 'Thomas Sackville, 1st Baron Buckhurst, created Earl of Dorset 13 March 1603, d. 1608 ; author of the famous *Induction* to the *Mirror for Magistrates* and part-author of *Gorboduc*.' (Bullen.)

more high and lofty conceite. For this end have I studyed to induce a true forme of versefying into our language: for the vulgar and unartificial custome of riming hath, I know, deter'd many excellent wits from the exercise of English poesy. The observations which I have gathered for this purpose, I humbly present to your Lordship, as to the noblest judge of Poesy, and the most honorable protector of all industrious learning; which if your Honour shall vouchsafe to receive, who both in your publick and private Poemes have so devinely crowned your fame, what man will dare to repine? or not strive to imitate them? Wherefore with all humility I subject my selfe and them to your gracious favour, beseeching you in the noblenes of your mind to take in worth so simple a present, which by some worke drawne from my more serious studies I will hereafter endeavour to excuse.

Your Lordship's humbly devoted

THOMAS CAMPION.

The Writer to his Booke.

Whether thus hasts my little booke so fast?
To Paules Churchyard. What, in those cels to stād,
With one leafe like a rider's cloke put up

To catch a termer¹? or lie mustie there
 With rimes a terme set out, or two before?
 Some will redeeme me: few; yes, reade me too.
 Fewer; nay love me. Now thou dot'st, I see.
 Will not our English *Athens* arte defend?
 Perhaps. Will lofty courtly wits not ayme
 Still at perfection? If I graunt? I flye.
 Whether? To Paules. Alas, poore booke, I rue
 Thy rash selfe-love; go, spread thy pap'ry wings;
 Thy lightnes cannot helpe or hurt my fame.

OBSERVATIONS IN THE ART OF ENGLISH
 POESY, by THOMAS CAMPION.

*The first Chapter, intreating of numbers in
 generall.*

THERE is no writing too breefe that, without
 obscuritie, comprehends the intent of the writer.
 These my late observations in English Poesy I
 have thus briefly gathered, that they might
 prove the lesse troublesome in perusing, and the
 more apt to be retayn'd in memorie. And I
 will first generally handle the nature of Numbers.
 Number is *discreta quantitas*; so that when we
 speake simply of number, we intend only the
 dissever'd quantity; But when we speake of a
 Poeme written in number, we consider not only
 the distinct number of the sillables, but also
 their value, which is contained in the length or

¹ A country cousin, come to London for the season,
i.e., term-time.

shortnes of their sound. As in Musick we do not say a straine of so many notes, but so many sem'briefes (though sometimes there are no more notes then sem'briefes), so in a verse the numeration of the sillables is not so much to be observed as their waite and due proportion. In joining of words to harmony there is nothing more offensive to the eare then to place a long sillable with a short note, or a short sillable with a long note, though in the last the vowell often beares it out. The world is made by Simmetry and proportion, and is in that respect compared to Musick, and Musick to Poetry: for *Terence* saith, speaking of Poets, *artem qui tractant musicam*,¹ confounding musick and Poesy together. What musick can there be where there is no proportion observed? Learning first flourished in *Greece*, from thence it was derived unto the *Romaines*, both diligent observers of the number, and quantity of sillables, not in their verses only, but likewise in their prose. Learning after the declining of the *Romaine* Empire, and the pollution of their language through the conquest of the *Barbarians*, lay most pitifully deformed, till the

¹ *Phormio*. Prologus, 18 :

“ . . . in medio omnibus

Palnam esse positam, qui artem tractant musicam.”

time of *Erasmus, Rewcline*,¹ Sir *Thomas More*, and other learned men of that age, who brought the Latine toong again to light, redeeming it with much labour out of the hands of the illiterate Monks and Friers: as a scoffing booke, entituled *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*,² may sufficiently testifie. In those lack-learning times, and in barbarized Italy, began that vulgar and easie kind of Poesie which is now in use throughout most parts of Christendome, which we abusively call Rime and Meeter, of *Rithmus* and *Metrum*, of which I will now discourse.

*The second Chapter, declaring the unaptnesse
of Rime in Poesie.*

I am not ignorant that whosoever shall by way of reprehension examine the imperfections of Rime, must encounter with many glorious enemies, and those very expert, and ready at their weapon, that can if neede be extempore (as they say) rime a man to death. Besides there is growne a kind of prescription in the use of Rime, to forestall the right of true numbers, as also the consent of many nations, against all which it may seeme a thing almost impossible and

¹ John Reuchlin (1450-1522); who afterwards changed his name to Capnio. The father of the great German Greek-scholars.

² Sometimes, but wrongly, imputed to Reuchlin.

vaine to contend. All this and more can not yet deterre me from a lawful defence of perfection, or make me any whit the sooner ad-heare to that which is lame and unbeseeing. For custome I alleage, that ill uses are to be abolisht, and that things naturally imperfect can not be perfected by use. Old customes, if they be better, why should they not be recald, as the yet flourishing custome of numerous poesy used among the *Romanes* and *Grecians*: but the unaptnes of our toongs, and the difficultie of imitation dishartens us; againe the facilitie and popularitie of Rime creates as many Poets, as a hot sommer flies. But let me now examine the nature of that which we call Rime. By Rime is understoode that which ends in the like sound, so that verses in such maner composed, yeeld but a continual repetition of that Rhetoricall figure which we terme *similiter desinentia*, and that being but *figura verbi*, ought (as *Tully* and all other Rhetoritians have judiciously observ'd) sparingly to be us'd, least it should offend the eare with tedious affectation. Such was that absurd following of the letter amongst our English so much of late affected, but now hist out of *Paules Churchyard*: which foolish figurative repetition crept also into the Latine toong, as it is manifest in the booke of

P^s called *praelia porcorum*,¹ and another pamphlet all of F^s, which I have seene imprinted ; but I will leave these follies to their owne ruine, and returne to the matter intended. The eare is a rationall sence and a chiefe judge of proportion, but in our kind of riming what proportion is there kept, where there remaines such a confusd inequality of sillables ? *Iambick* and *Trochaick* feete which are opposd by nature, are by all Rimers confounded, nay oftentimes they place instead of an *Iambick* the foot *Pyrrychius*, consisting of two short sillables, curtalling their verse, which they supply in reading with a ridiculous, and unapt drawing of their speech. As for example :

Was it my destiny, or dismall chaunce ?

In this verse the two last sillables of the word, *Desteny*, being both short, and standing for a whole foote in the verse, cause the line to fall out shorter then it ought by nature. The like impure errors have in time of rudenesse been used in the Latine toong, as the *Carmina proverbialia*² can witnesse, and many other such reverend bables. But the noble *Grecians* and *Romaines* whose skilfull monuments outlive

¹ *Pugna Porcorum per P. Porcium poetam* [Joan Leonem]. (Bullen.)

² *Carminum Proverbialium*, 1577.

barbarisme, tyed themselves to the strict observation of poetick numbers, so abandoning the childish titillation of riming, that it was imputed a great error to *Ovid* for setting forth this one riming verse,

*Quot cælum stellas tot habet tua Roma puellas.*¹

For the establishing of this argument, what better confirmation can be had, than that of Sir *Thomas Moore* in his booke of Epigrams, where he makes two sundry Epitaphs upon the death of a singing-man at *Westminster*,² the one in learned numbers and dislik't, the other in rude rime and highly extold: so that he concludes, *tales lactucas talia labra petunt*; like lips, like lettuce. But there is yet another fault in Rime altogether intollerable, which is, that it inforceth a man oftentimes to abjure his matter, and extend a short conceit beyond all bounds of arte; for in Quatorzens, methinks, the poet handles his subject as tryannically as *Procrustes* the thiefe his prisoners, whom when he had taken, he used to cast upon a bed, which if they were too short to fill, he would stretch them longer, if too long, he would cut them shorter. Bring before me now any the most self-lov'd Rimer, and let me see if

¹ *Art. Amatoricæ*, 1 sq. ² Henry Abingdon by name.

without blushing he be able to reade his lame halting rimes. Is there not a curse of nature laid upon such rude Poesie, when the writer is himself asham'd of it, and the hearers in contempt call it Riming and Ballating? What Devine in his Sermon, or grave Counsellor in his Oration, will alleage the testimonie of a rime? But the devinity of the *Romaines* and *Gretians* was all written in verse; and *Aristotle*,¹ *Galene*, and the books of all the excellent Philosophers are full of the testimonies of the old Poets. By them was laid the foundation of all humane wisdom, and from them the knowledge of all antiquitie is derived. I will propound but one question, and so conclude this point. If the *Italians*, *Frenchmen* and *Spaniards*, that with commendation have written in rime, were demanded whether they had rather the bookes they have publisht (if their toong would beare it) should remaine as they are in rime, or be translated into the auncient numbers of the Greekes and Romaines, would they not answer into numbers? What honour were it then for our English language to be the first that after

¹ Innumerable Latin editions of the encyclopediac Galen were produced in Campion's time, and he probably had on his own shelves a row of the folios of 1562.

so many yeares of barbarisme could second the perfection of the industrious *Greekes* and *Romaines*? which how it may be effected I will now proceede to demonstrate.

The third Chapter, of our English numbers in generall.

There are but three feete, which generally distinguish the Greeke and Latine verses, the *Dactil*, consisting of one long sillable and two short, as *vīvēřě* ; the *Trochy*, of one long and one short, as *vītă* ; and the *Iambick* of one short and one long, as *ămōr*. The *Spondee* of two long, the *Tribrach* of three short, the *Anapæstick* of two short and a long, are but as servants to the first.¹ Divers other feete I know are by the Grammarians cited, but to little purpose. The *Heroical* verse that is distinguisht by the *Dactile* hath bene oftentimes attempted in our English toong, but with passing pitifull succeſſe ; and no wonder, seeing it is an attempt altogether against the nature of our language. For both the concurſe of our monasillables make our verses unapt to ſlide ; and alſo, if we examine our polysillables, we ſhall finde few of

¹ This narrowing down, and ſimplifying of the classic metres is characteristic of Campion ; and may be ſaid to anticipate Coleridge's ſtill more radical method of metrical notation.

them, by reason of their heavinesse, willing to serve in place of a *Dactile*. Thence it is, that the writers of English heroicks do so often repeate *Amyntas*, *Olympus*, *Avernus*, *Erinnis*, and suchlike borrowed words, to supply the defect of our hardly intreated *Dactile*. I could in this place set downe many ridiculous kinds of *Dactils* which they use, but that it is not my purpose here to incite men to laughter. If we therefore reject the *Dactil* as unfit for our use (which of necessity we are enforst to do) there remayne only the *Iambick* foote, of which the *Iambick* verse is fram'd, and the *Trochee* from which the *Trochaick* numbers have their originall. Let us now then examine the property of these two feete, and try if they consent with the nature of our English sillables. And first for the *Iambicks*, they fall out so naturally in our toong, that if we examine our owne writers, we shall find they unawares hit oftentimes upon the true *Iambick* numbers, but alwayes ayme at them as far as their eare without the guidance of arte can attain unto, as it shall hereafter more evidently appeare. The *Trochaick* foote, which is but an *Iambick* turn'd over and over, must of force in like manner accord in proportion with our Brittish sillables, and so produce an English *Trochaicall*

verse. Then having these two principall kinds of verses, we may easily out of them derive other formes, as the Latines and Greekes before us have done : whereof I will make plaine demonstration, beginning at the *Iambick* verse.

The fourth Chapter, of the Iambick verse.

I have observed, and so may any one that is either practis'd in singing, or hath a naturall eare able to time a song, that the Latine verses of sixe feete, as the *Heroick* and *Iambick*, or of five feete as the *Trochaick*, are in nature all of the same length of sound with our English verses of five feet ; for either of them, being tim'd with the hand, *quinque perficiunt tempora*, they fill up the quantity (as it were) of five sem'briefs ; as for example, if any man will prove to time these verses with his hand.

A pure Iambick.

Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.

A licentiate Iambick.

Ducunt volentes fata, nolentes trahunt.

An Heroick verse.

Titere tu patulæ recubans sub tegmine fagi.

A Trochaick verse.

Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

English *Iambicks* pure.

The more secure, the more the stroke we feele
Of unprevented harms ; so gloomy stormes
Appeare the sterner if the day be cleere.

Th' English *Iambick* licentiate.

Harke how these winds do murmur at thy flight.

The English *Trochee*.

Still where Envy leaves, remorse doth enter.

The cause why these verses differing in feete yeeld the same length of sound, is by reason of some rests which either the necessity of the numbers, or the heaviness of the sillables do beget. For we find in musick that oftentimes the straines of a song cannot be reduct to true number without some rests prefixt in the beginning and middle, as also at the close if need requires. Besides, our English monasillables enforce many breathings which no doubt greatly lengthen a verse, so that it is no wonder if for these reasons our English verses of five feete hold pace with the *Latines* of sixe. The pure *Iambick* in English needes small demonstration, because it consists simply of *Iambick* feete, but our *Iambick* licentiate offers itselfe to a farther consideration ; for in the third and fift place we must of force hold the *Iambick* foot ; in the first, second, and fourth place we

may use a *Spondee* or *Iambick* and sometime a *Tribrach* or *Dactile*, but rarely an *Anapestick* foote, and that in the second or fourth place. But why an *Iambick* in the third place? I answere, that the forepart of the verse may the gentlier slide into his *Dimeter*, as for example sake divide this verse :

Harke how these winds do murmure at thy flight.

Harke how these winds, there the voice naturally affects a rest ; then *murmur at thy flight*, that is of itselfe a perfect number, as I will declare in the next Chapter ; and therefore the other odde sillable betweene them ought to be short, least the verse should hang too much betweene the naturall pause of the verse, and the *Dimeter* following ; the which *Dimeter*, though it be naturally *Trochaical*, yet it seemes to have his originall out of the *Iambick* verse. But the better to confirme and expresse these rules, I will set downe a short Poeme in *Licentiate Iambicks*, which may give more light to them that shall hereafter imitate these numbers.

Goe numbers boldly passe, stay not for ayde

Of shifting rime, that easie flatterer,
Whose witchcraft can the ruder eares beguile ;
Let your smooth feete enur'd to purer arte,
True measures tread. What if your pace be slow ?
And hops not like the Grecian elegies ?
It is yet gracefull, and well fits the state

Of words ill-breathed and not shap't to runne.
 Goe then, but slowly till your steps be firme ;
 Tell them that pittie, or perversely skorne,
 Poore English poesie as the slave to rime,
 You are those loftie numbers that revive
 Triumphs of Princes, and stern tragedies :
 And learne henceforth t'attend those happy sprights
 Whose bounding fury, height, and waight affects,
 Assist their labour, and sit close to them,
 Never to part away till for desert
 Their browes with great *Apollos* bayes are hid.
 He first taught number and true harmonye,
 Nor is the lawrell his for rime bequeath'd ;
 Call him with numerous accents paid ¹ by arte,
 He'le turne his glory from the sunny clymes
 The North-bred wits alone to patronise :
 Let France their *Bartas*,² Italy *Tasso* prayse ;
Phæbus shuns none, but in their flight from him.

Though, as I said before, the naturall breathing-place of our English *Iambick* verse is in the last sillable of the second foote, as our *Trochy* after the manner of the Latine *Heroick* and *Iambick* rests naturally in the first of the third foote ; yet no man is tyed altogether to observe this rule, but he may alter it, after the judgment of his eare, which Poets, Orators, and Musitions of all men ought to have most excellent. Againe, though I said peremptorily before, that the third, and fift place of our licentiate

¹ Weighed, measured.

² Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas, 1544-1590. His great poem 'La Semaine' passed through upwards of thirty editions in five or six years.

Iambick must alwayes hold an *Iambick* foote,
yet I will shew you example in both places
where a *Tribrack* may be very formally taken,
and first in the third place :

Some trade in *Barbary*, some in *Turky* trade.

An other example :

Men that do fall to misery, quickly fall.

If you doubt whether the first of *misery* be
naturally short or no, you may judge it by the
easy sliding of these two verses following :

The first.

Whom misery cannot alter, time devours.

The second :

What more unhappy life, what misery more ?

Example of the *Tribrack* in the fift place, as
you may perceive in the last foote of the fift¹
verse :

Some from the starry throne his fame derives,
Some from the mynes beneath, from trees or herbs :
Each hath his glory, each his sundry gift,
Renown'd in ev'ry art there lives not any.

To proceede farther, I see no reason why the
English *Iambick* in his first place may not
as well borrow a foote of the *Trochy* as our

¹ An error for 'fourth.'

Trochy, or the Latine *Hendecasillable*, may in the like case make bold with the *Iambick*: but it must be done ever with this caveat, which is, that a *Sponde*, *Dactile*, or *Tribrack* do supply the next place: for an *Iambick* beginning with a single short sillable, and the other ending before with the like, would too much drinke up the verse if they came immediately together.

The example of the *Sponde* after the *Trochy*:

As the faire sonne the lightsome heav'n adorns.

The example of the *Dactil*.

Noble, ingenious, and discreetly wise.

The example of the *Tribrack*.

Beauty to jelousie brings joy, sorrow, feare.

Though I have set downe these second licenses as good and ayreable enough, yet for the most part my first rules are generall.

These are those numbers which Nature in our English destinate to the Tragick and Heroick Poeme: for the subject of them both being all one, I see no impediment why one verse may not serve for them both, as it appeares more plainly in the old comparison of the two Greeke writers, when they say, *Homerus est Sophocles heroicus*, and againe *Sophocles*

est *Homerus tragicus*, intimating that both Sophocles and Homer are the same in height and subject, and differ onely in the kinde of their numbers.

The Iambick verse in like manner being yet made a little more licentiate, that it may thereby the neerer imitate our common talke, will excellently serve for Comedies, and then may we use a *Sponde* in the fift place, and in the third place any foote except a *Trochy*, which never enters into our Iambick verse, but in the first place, and then with his caveat of the other feete which must of necessitie follow.

The fift Chapter, of the Iambick Dimeter, or English march.

The *Dimeter* (so called in the former Chapter) I intend next of all to handle, because it seems to be a part of the *Iambick*, which is our most naturall and auncient English verse. We may terme this our English march, because the verse answers our warlick forme of march in similitude of number. But call it what you please, for I will not wrangle about names, only intending to set down the nature of it and true structure. It consists of two feete and one odd sillable. The first foote may be made

either a *Trochy*, or a *Spondee*, or an *Iambick* at the pleasure of the composer, though most naturally that place affects a *Trochy* or *Spondee*; yet by the example of *Catullus*¹ in his *Hendecasillables*, I adde in the first place sometimes an *Iambick* foote. In the second place we must ever insert a *Trochy* or *Tribrack*, and so leave the last sillable (as in the end of a verse it is alwaies held) common. Of this kinde I will subscribe three examples, the first being a peece of *Chorus* in a Tragedy.

Raving warre, begot
 In the thirstye sands
 Of the *Lybian* Iles,
 Wasts our emptye fields;
 What the greedye rage
 Of fell wintrye stormes
 Could not turne to spoile,
 Fierce *Bellona* now
 Hath laid desolate,
 Voyd of fruit, or hope.
 Th' eger thriftye hinde,
 Whose rude toyle reviv'd
 Our skie-blasted earth,
 Himselfe is but earth,
 Left a skorne to fate
 Through seditious armes:
 And that soile, alive
 Which he duly nurst,
 Which him duly fed,
 Dead his body feeds:

¹ Catullus. "—— his Hendecasyllables, where he seems to excel most." (B. Verona B.C. 86.)

Yet not all the glebe
 His tuffe hands manur'd
 Now one turfe affords
 His poore funerall.
 Thus still needy lives,
 Thus still needy dyes
 Th' unknowne multitude.

An example *Lyrical*.

Greatest in thy wars,
 Greater in thy peace,
 Dread *Elizabeth* ;
 Our muse only Truth
 Figments cannot use,
 Thy ritch name to deck
 That itselſe adorns :
 But ſhould now this age
 Let all poesy fayne,
 Fayning poesy could
 Nothing faine at all
 Worthy halfe thy fame.

An example *Epigrammaticall*.

Kind in every kinde
 This, deare Ned, resolve.
 Never of thy prayse
 Be too prodigall ;
 He that prayseth al
 Can praise truly none.

*The sixt Chapter, of the English Trochaick
 verse.*

Next in course to be intreated of is the
 English *Trochaick*, being a verse simple, and of

itselfe depending. It consists, as the Latine *Trochaick*, of five feete, the first whereof may be a *Trochy*, a *Spondee*, or an *Iambick*, the other foure of necessity all *Trochy*es, still holding this rule authentick, that the last sillable of a verse is alwayes common. The spirit of this verse most of all delights in Epigrams, but it may be diversely used, as shall hereafter be declared. I have written divers light Poems in this kinde, which for the better satisfaction of the reader, I thought convenient here in way of example to publish. In which though sometimes under a known name I have shadowed a fain'd conceit, yet it is done without reference or offence to any person, and only to make the stile appeare the more English.

The first *Epigramme*.

Lockly spits apace, the rhewme he cals it,
 But no drop (though often urgd) he straineth
 From his thirstie jawes, yet all the morning
 And all day he spits, in ev'ry corner ;
 At his meales he spits, at ev'ry meeting ;
 At the barre he spits before the Fathers ;
 In the Court he spits before the Graces ;
 In the Church he spits, thus all prophaning
 With that rude disease, that empty spitting :
 Yet no cost he spares, he sees the Doctors,
 Keeps a strickt diet, precisely useth
 Drinks and bathes drying, yet all prevails not.
 'Tis not *China* (*Lockly*), *Salsa Guacum*,

Nor dry *Sassafras* can help, or ease thee ;
 'Tis no humor hurts, it is thy humor.

The second *Epigramme*.

Cease fond wretch to love, so oft deluded,
 Still made ritch with hopes, still unrelieved.
 Now fly her delaies ; she that debateth
 Feeles not true desire ; he that, deferred,
 Others' times attends, his owne betrayeth :
 Learne t' affect thy selfe thy cheekes deformed
 With pale care, revive by timely pleasure,
 Or with skarlet heate them, or by paintings
 Make thee lovely ; for such arte she useth
 Whome in vayne so long thy folly loved.

The third *Epigramme*.

Kate can fancy only berdles husbands,
 That's the cause she shakes off ev'ry sutor,
 That's the cause she lives so stale a virgin,
 For before her heart can heate her answer,
 Her smooth youth she finds all hugely berded.

The fourth *Epigramme*.

All in sattin Oteny will be suted,
 Beaten sattin (as by chaunce he cals it) ;
 Oteny sure will have the bastinado.

The fift *Epigramme*.

Tosts, as snakes or as the mortall *Henbane*,
Hunks detests when huffcap ale he tipples,
 Yet the bread he graunts the fumes abateth :
 Therefore apt in ale, true, and he graunts it ;
 But it drinks up ale, that Hunks detesteth.

The sixth *Epigramme*.

What though *Harry* braggs, let him be noble ;
Noble *Harry* hath not halfe a noble.

The seaventh *Epigramme*.

Phæbe all the rights *Elisa* claymeth,
Mighty rivall, in this only diff'ring
That shees only true, thou only fayned.

The eight *Epigramme*.

Barnzy stiffly vows that hees no Cuckold,
Yet the vulgar ev'rywhere salutes him.
With strange signes of hornes, from ev'ry corner ;
Wheresoe'er he commes a sundry Cucco
Still frequents his eares, yet he's no Cuccold.
But this *Barnzy* knowes that his *Matilda*,
Scorning him, with *Harvy* playes the wanton ;
Knowes it ? nay desires it, and by prayers
Dayly begs of heav'n, that it for ever
May stand firme for him, yet hees no Cuccold :
And 'tis true, for *Harvy* keeps *Matilda*,
Fosters Barnzy, and relieves his houshold,
Buyes the Cradle, and begets the children,
Payes the Nurces, ev'ry charge defraying,
And thus truly playes *Matilda*'s husband :
So that Barnzy now becoms a cypher
And himselfe th' adultrer of *Matilda*.
Mock not him with hornes, the case is alterd ;
Harvy beares the wrong, *he* proves the Cuccold.

The ninth *Epigramme*.

Buffe loves fat vians, fat ale, fat all things.
Keepes fat whores, fat offices, yet all men
Him fat only wish to feast the gallous.

The tenth *Epigramme*.

Smith, by sute divorst, the knowne adult'res
 Freshly weds againe ; what ayles the mad-cap
 By this fury ? even so theeves by frailty
 Of their hemp reserv'd, againe the dismal
 Tree embrace, againe the fatall halter.

The eleventh *Epigramme*.

His late losse the Wiveless *Higs* in order
 Ev'rywhere bewailes to friends, to strangers ;
 Tells them how by night a yongster armed
 Saught his Wife (as hand in hand he held her)
 With drawne sword to force ; she cryed, he mainely
 Roring ran for ayd, but (ah), returning,
 Fled was with the prize the beawty-forcer,
 Whome in vain he seeks, he threats, he followes.
 Chang'd is *Hellen*, *Hellen* hugs the stranger
 Safe as *Paris* in the Greeke triumphing.
 Therewith his reports to teares he turneth,
 Peirst through with the lovely Dame's remembrance ;
 Straight he sighes, he raves, his haire he teareth,
 Forcing pity still by fresh lamenting.
 Cease unworthy, worthy of thy fortunes.
 Thou that couldst so faire a prize deliver,
 For feare unregarded, undefended,
 Hadst no heart I thinke, I know no liver.

The twelfth *Epigramme*.

Why droopst thou, *Trefeild* ? will *Hurst* the Banker
 Make dice of thy bones ? by heav'n he cannot.
 Cannot ? what's the reason ? ile declare it,
 Th'ar all growne so pockie and so rotten.

*The seaventh Chapter, of the English Elegeick
 verse.*

The *Elegeick* verses challenge the next place,

as being of all compound verses the simplest. They are deriv'd out of our own naturall numbers as neere the imitation of the *Greekes* and *Latines* as our heavy sillables will permit. The first verse is a meere licentiate *Iambick*; the second is fram'd of two united *Dimeters*. In the first *Dimeter* we are tyed to make the first foote either a *Trochy* or a *Spondee*, the second a *Trochy* and the odd sillable of it alwaies long. The second *Dimeter* consists of two *Trochy*es (because it requires more swiftnes than the first) and an odde sillable, which being last, is ever common. I will give you example both of *Elegye* and *Epigramme*, in this kinde.

An *Elegy*.

Constant to none, but ever false to me,
 Traiter still to love through thy faint desires,
 Not hope of pittie now nor vaine redresse
 Turns my griefs to teares and renu'd laments.
 Too well thy empty vowes and hollow thoughts
 Witnes both thy wrongs and remorseles hart.
 Rue not my sorrow, but blush at my name,
 Let thy bloody cheeks guilty thoughts betray.
 My flames did truly burne, thine made a shew,
 As fires painted are, which no heate retayne,
 Or as the glossy *pirop* faines to blaze,
 But toucht, cold appeares, and an earthy stone.
 True cullours deck thy cheeks, false foiles thy brest,
 Frailer then thy light beawty is thy minde.
 None canst thou long refuse, nor long affect,
 But turn'st feare with hopes, sorrow with delight,

Delaying, and deluding ev'ry way

Those whose eyes are once with thy beauty
chain'd.

Thrice happy man that ent'ring first thy love,

Can so guide the straight raynes of his desires,

That both he can regard thee, and refraine :

If grac't firme he stands, if not, easely falls.

Example of *Epigrams*, in Elegeick verse.

The first *Epigramme*.

Arthure brooks only those that brooke not him,

Those he most regards, and devoutly serves :

But them that grace him his great brav'ry skornes,

Counting kindnesse all duty, not desert :

Arthure wants forty pounds, tryes ev'ry friend,

But finds none that holds twenty due for him.

The second *Epigramme*.

If fancy can not erre which vertue guides,

In thee *Laura* then fancy can not erre.

The third *Epigramme*.

Drue feasts no Puritans, the churles, he saith,

Thanke no men, but eate, praise God, and depart.

The fourth *Epigramme*.

A wiseman wary lives, yet most secure,

Sorrowes move not him greatly, nor delights.

Fortune and death he skorning, only makes

Th' earth his sober Inne, but still heav'n his home

The fifth *Epigramme*.

Thou tell'st me, *Barnzy*, *Dawson* hath a wife :
Thine he hath, I graunt ; *Dawson* hath a wife.

The sixt *Epigramme*.

Drue gives thee money, yet thou thank'st not him,
But thankst God for him, like a godly man.
Suppose, rude Puritan, thou begst of him,
And he saith God help who's the godly man ?

The seaventh *Epigramme*.

All wonders *Barnzy* speakes, all grosely faind :
Speake some wonder once, *Barnzy*, speake the
truth.

The eight *Epigramme*.

None then should through thy beawty *Lawra* pine,
Might sweet words alone ease a love-sick heart :
But your sweet words alone, that quit so well
Hope of friendly deeds, kill the love-sick heart.

The ninth *Epigramme*.

At all thou frankly throwst, while *Frank*, thy wife,
Bars not *Luke* the mayn, *Oteny* barre the bye.

The eight Chapter, of Ditties and Odes.

To descend orderly from the more simple numbers to them that are more compounded, it is now time to handle such verses as are fit for *Ditties* or *Odes* ; which we may call *Lyricall*, because they are apt to be soong to an instrument, if they were adorn'd with convenient notes. Of that kind I will demonstrate three

in this Chapter, and in the first we will proceed after the manner of the *Saphick*, which is a *Trochaicall* verse as well as the *Hendicassillable* in Latine. The first three verses therefore in our English *Saphick* are meerely those *Trochaicks* which I handled in the sixt Chapter, excepting only that the first foote of either of them must ever of necessity be a *Spondee*, to make the number more grave. The fourth and last closing verse is compounded of three *Trochyes* together, to give a more smooth farewell, as you may easily observe in this Poeme made upon a Triumph at Whitehall, whose glory was dasht with an unwelcome showre, hindring the people from the desired sight of her Majestie.

The English *Sapphick*.

Faiths pure shield the Christian *Diana*
England's glory crownd with all devinenesse,
 Live long with triumphs to blesse thy people
 At thy sight triumphing.

Loe they sound, the knights in order armed
 Entring threat the list, adrest to combat
 For their courtly loves ; he, hees the wonder
 Whome *Eliza* graceth.

Their plum'd pomp the vulgar heaps detaineth,
 And rough steeds, let us the still devices
 Close observe, the speeches and the musicks
 Peace full arms adorning.

But whence showres so fast this angry tempest,
 Clowding dimme the place? behold *Eliza*
 This day shines not here, this heard, the launces
 And thick heads do vanish.

The second consists of *Dimeter*, whose first foote may either be a *Sponde* or a *Trochy*: The two verses following are both of them *Trochaeical*, and consist of foure feete, the first of either of them being a *Spondee* or *Trochy*, the other three only *Trochy*es. The fourth and last verse is made of two *Trochy*es. The number is voluble and fit to expresse any amorous conceit.

The Example.

Rose-cheekt *Lawra* come
 Sing thou smoothly with thy beawtie's
 Silent musick, either other
 Sweetely gracing.

Lovely formes do flowe
 From concent devinely framed,
 Heav'n is musick, and thy beawtie's
 Birth is heavenly.

These dull notes we sing
 Discords neede for helps to grace them,
 Only beawty purely loving
 Knowes no discord:

But still moves delight,
 Like cleare springs renu'd by flowing,
 Ever perfet, ever in them-
 Selves eternall.

The third kind begins as the second kind ended, with a verse consisting of two *Trochy* feete,

and then as the second kind had in the middle two *Trochaick* verses of foure feete, so this hath three of the same nature, and ends in a *Dimeter* as the second began. The *Dimeter* may allow in the first place a *Trochy* or a *Spondee*, but no *Iambick*.

The Example.

Just beguiler,
Kindest love, yet only chastest,
Royall in thy smooth denyals,
Frowning or demurely smiling
Still my pure delight.

Let me view thee
With thoughts and with eyes affected,
And if then the flames do murmur,
Quench them with thy vertue, charme them
With thy stormy browes.

Heav'n so cheerefull
Laughs not ever, hory winter
Knowes his season, even the freshest
Sommer mornes from angry thunder
Let not still secure.

The ninth Chapter of the Anacreontick verse.

If any shall demaund the reason why this number being in itselfe simple, is plac't after so many compounded numbers, I answere, because I hold it a number to licentiate for a higher place, and in respect of the rest imperfect, yet is it passing gracefull in our English toong, and will excellently fit the subject of a *Madrigall*,

or any other lofty or tragicall matter. It consists of two feete, the first may be either a *Sponde* or *Trochy*, the other must ever represent the nature of a *Trochy*, as for example :

Follow, followe
 Though with mischiefe
 Arm'd, like whirlwind
 Now she flyes thee ;
 Time can conquer
 Loves unkindnes ;
 Love can alter
 Times disgraces ;
 Till death faint not
 Then but followe.
 Could I catch that
 Nimble trayter
 Skorne full *Lawra*,
 Swift foote *Lawra*,
 Soone then would I
 Seeke avengement ?
 Even submissely
 Prostrate then to
 Beg for mercye.

Thus have I briefly described eight several kinds of English numbers simple or compound. The first was our *Iambick* pure and licentiate. The second, that which I call our *Dimeter*, being derived either from the end of our *Iambick*, or from the beginning of our *Trochaick*. The third which I delivered was our English *Trochaick* verse. The fourth our English *Elegeick*. The fift, sixth, and seaventh, were our

English *Sapphick*, and two other *Lyrickall* numbers, the one beginning with that verse which I call our *Dimeter*, the other ending with the same. The eight and last was a kind of *Anacreontick* verse handled in this Chapter. These numbers which by my long observation I have found agreeable with the nature of our sillables, I have set forth for the benefit of our language, which I presume the learned will not only imitate, but also polish and amplifie with their owne inventions. Some eares accustomed altogether to the fatnes of rime, may perhaps except against the cadences of these numbers, but let any man judiciously examine them, and he shall finde they close of themselves so perfectly, that the help of rime were not only in them superfluous, but also absurd. Moreover, that they agree with the nature of our English it is manifest, because they entertaine so willingly our owne British names, which the writers in English Heroicks could never aspire unto, and even our Rimers themselves have rather delighted in borrowed names than in their owne, though much more apt and necessary. But it is now time that I proceede to the censure of our sillables, and that I set such lawes upon them as by imitation, reason, or experience, I can confirme. Yet before I enter into that discourse,

I will briefly recite and dispose in order all such feete as are necessary for composition of the verses before described. They are sixe in number, three whereof consist of two sillables, and as many of three.

Feete of two sillables.

Iambick :	}	as	{	rěvēnge
Trochaick :				bēawtie
Sponde :				cōstānt

Feete of three sillables.

Tribrack :	}	as	{	mīsērie
Anapestick :				mīsērīes
Dactile :				dēstenie

The tenth Chapter, of the quantity of English sillables.

The *Greekes* in the quantity of their sillables were farre more licentious than the *Latines*, as *Martiall* in his Epigramme of *Earinon*¹ witnesseth, saying, *Musas qui colimus severiores*. But the English may very well challenge much more license than either of them, by reason it stands chiefly upon monasillables, which in expressing with the voyce, are of a heavy cariage, and for that cause the *Dactil*, *Trybrack*, and *Anapestick* are not greatly mist in our verses.

¹ *Epigram*, ix. 12:

“Nobis non licet tam disertis,
Qui Musas colimus severiores.”

But above all the accent of our words is diligently to be observ'd, for chiefly by the accent in any language the true value of the syllables is to be measured. Neither can I remember any impediment except position that can alter the accent of any syllable in our English verse. For though we accent the second of *Trumpington* short, yet is it naturally long, and so of necessity must be held of every composer. Wherefore the first rule that is to be observed, is the nature of the accent, which we must ever follow.

The next rule is position, which makes every syllable long, whether the position happens in one or in two words, according to the manner of the *Latines*, wherein is to be noted that *h* is no letter.

Position is when a vowell comes before two consonants, either in one or two words. In one, as in *best*, *e* before *st*, makes the word *best* long by position. In two words, as in *settled love*: *e* before *d* in the last syllable of the first word, and *l* in the beginning of the second makes *led* in *settled* long by position.

A vowell before a vowell is alwaies short, as *flying*, *dying*, *going*, unlesse the accent alter it, in *dēning*.

The diphthong in the midst of a word is alwaies long, as *plaving*, *deceiving*.

The *Synalæphas* or *Elisions* in our toong are either necessary to avoid the hollownes and gaping in our verse as *to*, and *the*, *t'inchaunt*, *th' inchaunter*, or may be usd at pleasure, as for *let us* to say *let's* ; for *we will*, *wee'l* ; for *every*, *ev'ry* ; for *they are*, *th'ar* ; for *he is*, *hee's* ; for *admired*, *admir'd* ; and such like.

Also, because our English Orthography (as the French) differs from our common pronunciation, we must esteeme our sillables as we speake, not as we write ; for the sound of them in a verse is to be valued, and not their letters ; as for *follow*, we pronounce *follo* ; for *perfect*, *perfet* ; for *little*, *littel* ; for *love-sick*, *love-sik* ; for *honour*, *honor* ; for *money*, *mony* ; for *dangerous*, *dangerus* ; for *raunsome*, *raunsum* ; for *though*, *tho* ; and their like.

Derivatives hold the quantities of their primitives, as *děvōut*, *děvōutelie* ; *prōphāne*, *prōphānelie* ; and so do the compositives, as *děsěrv'd*, *ūnděsěrv'd*.

In words of two sillables, if the last have a full and rising accent that sticks long upon the voyce, the first sillable is alwayes short, unlesse position, or the diphthong doth make it long, as *děsěre*, *prěsěrvē*, *děfīne*, *prōphāne*, *rěgārd*, *mānūre*, and such like.

If the like dissillables at the beginning have

double consonants of the same kind, we may use the first syllable as common, but more naturally short, because in their pronunciation we touch but one of those double letters, as *ātēnd*, *āpēare*, *ōpōse*. The like we may say when silent and melting consonants meete together, as *ādrēst*, *rēdrēst*, *ōprēst*, *rēprēst*, *rētriv'd*, and such like.

Words of two syllables that in their last syllable mayntayne a flat or falling accent, ought to hold their first syllable long, as *rīgōr*, *glōrie*, *spīrit*, *fūrie*, *lāboūr*, and the like : *āny*, *māny*, *prēty*, *hōly*, and their like, are excepted.

One observation which leades me to judge of the difference of these dissillables whereof I last spake, I take from the originall monasillable ; which if it be grave, as *shāde*, I hold that the first of *shādie* must be long ; so *trūe*, *trūlie* ; *hāve*, *hāvīng* ; *tīre*, *tīrīng*.

Words of three syllables for the most part are derived from words of two syllables, and from them take the quantity of their first syllable, as *flōrish*, *flōrishīng*, long ; *hōlie*, *hōlīnes*, short ; but *mi* in *mīser* being long, hinders not the first of *mīsery* to be short, because the sound of the *i* is a little altred.

De, *di*, and *pro*, in trisillables (the second

being short) are long, as *dēsōlāte*, *dīlīgēnt*, *prōdīgall*.

Re is ever short, as *rēmēdie*, *rěfěrēnce*, *rě-dōlēnt*, *rěvěrēnd*.

Likewise the first of these trisillables is short, as the first of *bēnēfit*, *gēnērall*, *hīdēous*, *mēmōrie*, *nūmērous*, *pēnētrāte*, *sēpārat*, *tīmerous*, *vāriant*, *vārious*, and so may we esteeme of all that yeeld the like quicknes of sound.

In words of three sillables the quantity of the middle sillable is lightly taken from the last sillable of the originall dissillable, as the last of *děvīne*, ending in a grave or long accent, make the second of *děvīnīng* also long, and so *ēspīe*, *ēspīīng*, *děnīe*, *děnīīng* : contrarywise it falles out if the last of the dissillable beares a flat or falling accent, as *glōrīe*, *glōrīīng*, *ēnvīe*, *ēnvīīng*, and so forth.

Words of more sillables are eyther borrowed and hold their owne nature, or are likewise deriv'd and so follow the quantity of their primatives, or are knowne by their proper accents, or may be easily censured by a judiciall eare.

All words of two or more sillables ending with a falling accent in *y* or *ye*, as *faīrelīe*, *dēmurelīe*, *beawtīe*, *pīttīe* ; or in *ue*, as *vertuē*, *rēscuē* ; or in *ow*, as *fōllōw*, *hōllōw* ; or in *e*,

as *parlē*, *Daphnē* ; or in *a*, as *Mannă* ; are naturally short in their last sillables : neither let any man cavill at this licentiate abbreviating of sillables, contrary to the custome of the Latines, which made all their last sillables that ended in *u* long, but let him consider that our verse of five feete, and for the most part but of ten sillables, must equall theirs of sixe feete and of many sillables, and therefore may with sufficient reason adventure upon this allowance. Besides, every man may observe what an infinite number of sillables both among the *Greekes* and *Romaines* are held as common. But words of two sillables ending with a rising accent in *y* or *ye*, as *denye*, *descrye*, or in *ue*, as *ensue*, or in *ee*, as *foresee*, or in *oe*, as *forgoe*, are long in their last sillables, unlesse a vowell begins the next word.

All monasillables that end in a grave accent are ever long, as *wrāth*, *hāth*, *thēse*, *thōse*, *tōoth*, *sōoth*, *thrōugh*, *dāy*, *plāy*, *feāte*, *speēde*, *strīfe*, *flōw*, *grōw*, *shēw*.

The like rule is to be observed in the last of dissillables, bearing a grave rising sound, as *devine*, *delaie*, *retire*, *refuse*, *manure*, or a grave falling sound, as *fortune*, *pleasure*, *vampire*.

All such as have a double consonant lengthning them, as *wārre*, *bārre*, *stārre*, *fūrre*,

mūrre, appear to me rather long then any way short.

There are of these kinds other, but of a lighter sound, that if the word following do begin with a vowell are short, as *doth, though, thou, now, they, two, too, flye, dye, true, due, see, are, far, you, thee*, and the like.

These monasillables are always short, as *ǎ, thě, thŭ, shě, wě, bě, hě, nŏ, tŏ, gŏ, sŏ, dŏ*, and the like.

But if *i* or *y* are joyn'd at the beginning of a word with any vowell, it is not then held as a vowell, but as a consonant, as *jelosy, jewce, jade, joy, Judas, ye, yet, yel, youth, yoke*. The like is to be observ'd in *w*, as *winde, wide, wood* : and in all words that begin with *va, ve, vi, vo*, or *vu*, as *vacant, vew, vine, voide*, and *vulture*.

All Monasillables or Polysillables that end in single consonants, either written, or sounded with single consonants, having a sharp lively accent, and standing without position of the word following, are short in their last sillable, as *scǎb, flěd, pǎrtěd, Gŏd, ōf, ŭf, bāndŏg, ānguŭsh, sŭck, quŭck, rŭvǎl, wŭll, pēoplě, sŭmplě, comě, somě, hŭm, thēm, frŏm, sŭmmŏn, thěn, prŏp, prŏspěr, hŏnŏŭr, lābŏŭr, thŭs, hŭs, spěchěs, gŏdděsse, pěrfect, bŭt, whăt, thăt*, and their like.

The last sillable of all words in the plurall

number that have two or more vowels before s, are long, as *vertūes*, *dutīes*, *miserīes*, *fellowēs*.

These rules concerning the quantity of our English sillables I have disposed as they came next into my memory ; others, more methodically, time and practice may produce. In the meane season, as the Grammarians leave many sillables to the authority of Poets, so do I likewise leave many to their judgments ; and withall thus conclude, that there is no Art begun and perfected at one enterprise.

IV

A DEFENCE OF RYME, Against a Pamphlet entitled: 'Observations in the Art of English Poesie.' By SAMUEL DANIEL.¹

*To all the Worthy Louers, and learned
Professors of Ryme, within his Maiesties
Dominions.
S. D.*

WORTHY Gentlemen, about a yeere since, upon the great reproach giuen to the Professors of Ryme, and the vse thereof, I wrote a priuate Letter, as a defence of mine owne vndertakings² in that kinde to a learned Gentleman, a great friend of mine,³ then in Court. Which I did rather to confirme my selfe in mine owne courses, and to hold him from being wonne

¹ Wherein is demonstratively proved, that Ryme is the fittest harmonie of words that comports with our language. London: Printed by Melch. Bradwood for Edward Blount. 1607.

² Daniel is evidently referring to his *Musophilus*;—the verse counterpart to the present tract, v. Dr Grosart's ed., v. i. p. 221.

³ Fulke Greville (afterwards Lord Brooke).

from vs, then with any desire to publish the same to the world.

But now, seeing the times to promise a more regard to the present condition of our writings, in respect of our Sovereigns happie inclination this way ;¹ whereby we are rather to expect incouragement to goe on with that we doe, then any innouation should checke vs with a shew of what it would doe in another kinde, and yet doe nothing but depraue : I haue now giuen a greater bodie to the same argument : and heere present it to your view, under the patronage of a noble Erle,² who in blood and nature is interested to take our part in this cause, with others, who can not, I know, but holde deare the monuments that haue beene left vnto the world in this maner of composition : and who I trust will take in good part this my Defence ; if not as it is my particular, yet in respect of the cause I vndertake,³ which I heere inuoke you all to protect. SA. D.

¹ *I.e.* James I.

² William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (*v.* p. 3), the 'W. H.' of Shakespeare's Sonnets.

³ *Cf.* Daniel's Introductory Epistle to his Tragedy of Shilotas (1623) :

'Yet for the zeale that I have borne to Rime,
And to the Muses.'

Dr Grosart's *ed.*, v. iii. p. 101.

To William Herbert, Erle of Pembroke.

The generall custome and vse of Ryme in this Kingdome, Noble Lord, hauing beene so long (as if from a grant of nature) held vnquestionable ; made mee to imagine that it lay altogether out of the way of contradiction, and was become so naturall, as we should never haue had a thought to cast it off into reproch, or be made to thinke that it ill-became our language. But now I see, when there is opposition made to all things in the world by words, we must now at length likewise fall to contend for words themselves ; and make a question, whether they be right or no. For we are told how that our measures goe wrong, all Ryming is grosse, vulgar, barbarous ; which if it bee so, we haue lost much labour to no purpose ; and for mine owne particular, I can not but blame the fortune of the times and mine owne Genius, that cast me vpon so wrong a course, drawen with the current of custome, and an vnexamined example. Hauing beene first encourag'd and fram'd thereunto by your most worthy and honorable mother,¹ and received the first notion for the formal ordering

¹ The Arcadian Countess of Pembroke ; Sidney's famous sister.

of those compositions at *Wilton*,¹ which I must euer acknowledge to haue beene my best schoole, and thereof alwayes am to holde a feeling and gratefull memorie. Afterward drawen farther on by the well liking and approbation of my worthy Lord, the fosterer of me and my *Muse*, I aduentured to bestow all my whole powers therein, perceiuing it agreed so wel, both with the complexion of the time and mine owne constitution, as I found not wherein I might better imploy mee. But yet now, vpon the great discouery of these new measures, threatening to ouerthrow the whole state of Ryme in this Kingdome, I must either stand out to defend, or els be forced to forsake my selfe, and giue ouer all. And though irresolution and a selfe distrust be the most apparent faults of my nature and the least checke of reprehension, if it sauour of reason, will as easily shake my resolution as any man's living: yet in this case, I know not how I am growen more resolu'd, and before I sincke, willing to examine what those points of judgement are, that must beare me downe, and beat me off from the station of my profession, which by the law of Nature I am set to defend.

¹ Daniel was tutor to the young Earl at Wilton; *circa* 1591-3.

And the rather for that this Detractour (whose commendable Rymes,¹ albeit now himselfe an enemy to Ryme, haue giuen heretofore to the World the best notice of his worth) is a man of faire parts and good reputation, and therefore the reproch cast forcibly from such a hand may throw downe more at once than the labours of many shall in long time build up againe, specially vpon the slipperie foundation of opinion, and the World's inconstancy, which knows not well what it would haue, and

Discit enim citius, meminitque libentius illud²
Quod quis deridet quā quod probat et veneratur.

And he who has thus become our vnkind aduersary, must pardon vs if we be as iealous of our fame and reputation, as hee is desirous of credit by his new-old arte, and must consider that we cannot, in a thing that concerns vs so neere, but haue a feeling of the wrong done, wherein euery Rymer in this vniuersall Iland, as well as myselfe, stands interessed.³ So that

¹ Campion's poems had so far (1607) circulated chiefly in MS., and in Rosseter's 'Booke of Ayres.'

² Horace : *Epist.* i. 262, 3.

³ Cf. *Musophilus* (Grosart's ed., i. 232, ll. 207-220) :

'Yet why should civill Learning seeke to wound,
'And mangle her owne members with despight ?
'Prodigious wits that study to confound
'The life of wit,' &c.

if his charity had equally drawen with his learning, he would haue forborne to procure the enuie of so powerfull a number vpon him, from whom he can not but expect the returne of a like measure of blame, and onely haue made way to his owne grace, by the prooffe of his abilitie, without the disparaging of vs, who would haue beene glad to haue stood quietly by him, and perhaps commended by his aduenture, seeing that euermore of one Science an other may be born, and that those salies made out of the quarter of our set knowledges, are the gallant proffers only of attemptiue spirits, and commendable, though they worke no other effect than make a Bravado: and I know it were *Indecens et morosum nimis, aliena industriæ, modum ponere.*

We could well haue allowed of his numbers, had he not disgraced our Ryme: which custome and Nature doth most powerfully defend: custome, that is before all Law: Nature, that is aboue all Art. Every language hath her proper number or measure fitted to vse and delighte, which, custome entertaininge by the allowance of the Eare, doth modernize¹ and make Naturall. All verse is but a frame of wordes confinde

¹ Hazlewood in his reprint,—*Ancient Critical Essays*, ii. 197, gives ‘indenize.’

within certaine measure ; differing from the ordinarie speech, and introduced the better to expresse mens conceits, both for delight and memorie. Which frame of words consisting of *Rithmus* or *Metrum*, Number or measure, are disposed into diuers fashions, according to the humour of the composer, and the set of the time : And these *Rhythmi*, as *Aristotle*¹ sayth, are familiar amongst all Nations, and *è naturali et sponte fusa compositione* : And they fall as naturally already in our language, as euer Art can make them ; being such as the Eare of it selfe doth marshall in their proper roomes, and they of themselves will not willingly be put out of their ranke ; and that in such a verse as best comports with the nature of our language.

And for our Ryme (which is an excellencie added to this worke of measure, and a Harmonie farre happier than any proportion Antiquitie could euer shew vs) doeth adde more grace, and hath more of delight then euer bare numbers, howsoever they can be forced to runne in our slow language, can possibly yeeld. Which whether it be deriv'd of *Rhythmus* or of *Romance*, which were songs the *Bards* and *Druides*² about Rymes vsed, and thereof were

¹ Cf. Aristotle : *Rhetoric*, c. viii., &c.

² Daniel's philology seems astray here ; neither word can be traced to a bardic origin.

called Remensi,¹ as some Italians holde ; or howsoeuer, it is likewise number and harmonie of wordes, consisting of an agreeing sound in the last syllables of seuerall verses, giuing both to the eare an echo of a delightful report, and to the Memorie a deeper impression of what is delivered therein. For as Greeke and Latine verse consists of the number and quantitie of syllables, so doth the English verse of measure and accent. And though it doth not strictly obserue long and short syllables, yet it most religiously respects the accent ; and as the short and the long make number, so the Accute and Graue accent yeeld harmonie : And harmonie is likewise number ; so that the English verse then hath number, measure and harmonie in the best proportion of Musicke. Which being more certaine and more resounding, workes that effect of motion with as happy successe as either the Greeke or Latine. And so naturall a melodie is it, and so vniuersall, as it seemes to be generally borne with all the Nations of the world, as an hereditarie eloquence proper to all mankind. The vniuersalitie argues the generall power of it : for if the Barbarian vse it, then it shewes that it swaies the affection of the Barbarian : if ciuill Nations practise it, it proues that it

¹ Romanzo,—*Ital.*

workes vpon the hearts of ciuill Nations : if all, then that it hath a power in nature on all. *Georgienez de Turcarum moribus*,¹ hath an example of the Turkish Rymes iust of the measure of our verse of eleuen syllables, in feminine Ryme: neuer begotten I am perswaded by any example in *Europe*; but borne no doubt in *Scythia*, and brought over *Caucasus* and Mount Taurus. The Sclauonian and Arabian tongues acquaint a great part of *Asia* and *Afrique* with it; the Moscouite, Polacke, Hungarian, Germane, Italian, French, and Spaniard, vse no other harmonie of words. The Irish, Briton, Scot, Dane, Saxon, English, and all the Inhabiters of this Iland, either haue hither brought, or heere found the same in vse. And such a force hath it in nature, or so made by nature, as the Latin numbers notwithstanding their excellency, seemed not sufficient to satisfie the eare of the world thereunto accustomed, without this Harmonical cadence: which make the most learned of all Nations labour with exceeding trauall to bring those numbers likewise vnto it;² which many did

¹ Possibly Daniel was thinking of the *Tractatus de Moribus Turcorum* (circa 1480); v. M. Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, item. 27863.

² Cf. *Musophilus* (Grosart's ed., i. 233, ll. 247-252).

'For now great Nature hath laid down at last,
That mightie birth,' &c.

with that happinesse as neither the purity of tongue, nor their materiall contemplations are thereby any way disgraced, but rather deserue to be reuerenced of all grateful posteritie, with the due regard of their worth. And for *Schola Salerna*,¹ and those *Carmina Prouerbialia*, Who finds not therein more precepts for vse, concerning diet, health and conservation, than *Cato*, Theogues, or all the Greekes and Latines can shew vs in that kind of teaching? and that in so few words, both for delight to the eare, and the hold of memory, as they are to be embraced of all Modest Readers, that study to know, and not to depraue.

Me thinks it is a strange imperfection, that men should thus ouer-runne the estimation of good things with so violent a censure, as though it must please none els, because it likes not them. Whereas *Oportet arbitratores esse non contradictores eos qui verum indicaturi sunt*,² saith Arist. though he could not observe it himselfe. And milde charitie tells vs :

————— *Non ego paucis*

Offendor maculis quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum canet natura.³

¹ The school of Salerno, and its medical precepts, were proverbial with the Elizabethans.

² Arist. *Metaphysics*, x. 1, &c.

³ Horace : *Ars. Poet.*, 352.

For all men haue their errours, and we must take the best of their powers, and leaue the rest as not appertaining vnto vs.

*Ill customes are to be left,*¹ I grant it: but I see not how that can be taken for an ill custome, which Nature hath thus ratified, all nations receiued, time so long confirmed, the effect such as it performes those offices of motion for which it is imployed; delighting the eare, stirring the heart, and satisfying the iudgement in such sort as I doubt whether euer single numbers will doe in our climate, if they shew no more worke of wonder than yet we see. And if euer they prooue to become anything, it must be by the approbation of many ages that must giue them their strength for any operation, as before the world will feele where the pulse, life and energy lies, which now were sure where to haue in our Rymes, whose knowen frame hath those due staves for the minde, those encounters of touch, as makes the motion certaine, though the varietie be infinite.

Nor will the general sort, for whom we write (the wise being aboue books) taste these laboured measures but as an orderly profe when we haue all done. For this kind

¹ Cf. *Campion's Observations*, p. 155, l. 7, &c.

acquaintance and continuall familiaritie euer had betweene our eare and this cadence, is growen to so intimate a friendship, as it will now hardly euer be brought to miss it. For be the verse neuer so good, neuer so full, it seemes not to satisfie nor breed that delight, as when it is met and combined with a like sounding accent: which seems as the iointure without which it hangs loose, and cannot subsist, but runnes wildly on, like a tedious fancie without a close.¹ Suffer then the world to enjoy that which it knowes, and what it likes: seeing that whatsoeuer forme of words doth mooue, delight and sway the affections of men, in what Scythian soeuer it be disposed or vttered, that is true number, measure, eloquence, and the perfection of speech: which I said hath as many shapes as there be tongues or nations in the world, nor can with all the tyrannicall Rules of idle Rhetorique be gouerned otherwise then custome and present obseruation will allow.

And being now the trim and fashion of the

¹ ' Nor mete out Truth and right discerning Praise,
By that wrong measure of confusion.
The vulgar foote, that never takes his wayes
By Reason, but by Imitation,
Rowling on with the rest, and never weighs
The course which he should goe, but what is gone.'

—*Musophilus*, ll. 93-8.

times to sute a man otherwise, can but giue a touch of singularitie; for when he hath all done, hee hath but found other clothes to the same bodie, and peraduenture not so fitting as the former. But could our Aduersary heereby set up the Musicke of our times to a higher note of iudgement and discretion, or could these new lawes of wordes better our imperfections, it were a happy attempt; but when heereby we shall but as it were change person, and put off those fetters to receiue others, what haue we gained? as good still to vse Ryme and as little Reason as neither Ryme nor Reason: for no doubt, as idle will write in that kinde as doe now in this: imitation will after though it breake her necke. *Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.*¹ And this multitude of idle Writers can be no disgrace to the good: for the same fortune in one proportion or other, is proper in a like season to all States in their turn. And the same vnmeasurable confluence of Scriblers happened, when measures were most in vse among the Romans, as wee finde by this reprehension,

Mutavit mentem populis tenit et calet vno
 Scribendi studio, pueri patresque seueri,
 Fronde comas vincti cœnāt, et carmina dictant.²

¹ Horace: *Epist.* 1, 117.

² Horace: *Epist.* 1, 108.

So that plentie seemes to haue bred the same waste and contempt as ours doth now, though it had not power to disvalue what was worthie of posteritie, nor keepe backe the reputation of excellencies, destined to continue for many ages. For feeling it is matter that satisfies the iudiciall, appeare it in what habit it will, all these pretended proportions of words, howsoeuer placed, can be but words, and peraduenture serue but to embroile our vnderstandinge; whilst seeking to please our eare, we enthrall our iudgement; to delight an exterior sense, wee smooth vp a weake confused sense, affecting sound to be vnsound, and all to secure *Servum pecus*,¹ onely to imitate Greekes and Latines, whose felicitie, in this kinde, might be something to themselues, to whom their owne *idioma* was naturall, but vs it can yeeld no other commoditie, then a sound. We admire them not for their smooth-gliding words, nor their measures, but for their inuentions; which treasure if it were to be found in Welsh and Irish, wee should holde those languages in the same estimation, and they may thank their sword that made their tongues so famous and vniuersall as they are.² For to say truth, their

¹ v. Horace : *Epist.* 1, 19, &c.

² v. *Musophilus*; 'Which letter'd arms, and armed letters won!'

verse is many times but a confused deliuerer of their excellent conceits, whose scattered limbs we are fain to looke out and ioyn together, to discerne the image of what they represent to vs. And euen the Latines, who professe not to be so licencious as the Greekes, shew vs many times examples but of strange crueltie, in torturing and dismembering of words in the midst, or disioyning such as naturally should be married and march together, by setting them as farre asunder as they can possibly stand, that sometimes vnlesse the kinde Reader out of his owne good nature, will stay them vp by their measure, they will fall down into flat prose, and sometimes are no other indeed in their naturall sound! And then againe, when you find them disobedient to their owne lawes, you must hold it to be *licentia poetica*,¹ and so dispensable. This striuing to shew their changeable measures in the varietie of their Odes, haue been verie painfull no doubt vnto them, and forced them thus to disturbe the quiet streame of their words, which by a naturall succession otherwise desire to follow in their due course.

But such affliction doth laboursome curiositie still lay vpon our best delights (which euer must be made strange and variable) as if Art

¹ Horace : *Ars Poet.*, 211, &c.

were ordained to afflict Nature, and that we could not goe but in fetters. Euery science, euery profession, must be so wrapt vp in vn-necessary intrications, as if it were not to fashion but to confound the vnderstanding, which makes me much to distrust man, and feare that our presumption goes beyond our abilitie, and our curiositie is more then our iudgement: labouring euer to seem to be more then we are, or laying greater burdens vpon our mindes then they are well able to beare, because we would not appeare like other men.

And indeed I have wished that there was not that multiplicite of Rymes as is vsed by many in Sonets, which yet we see in some so happily to succeed, and hath beene so farre from hindering their inuentions, as it hath begot conceit beyond expectation, and comparable to the best inuentions of the world: for sure in an eminent spirit, whom Nature hath fitted for that myserie, Ryme is no impediment to his conceit, but rather giues him wings to mount, and carries him not out of his course, but as it were beyond his power to a far happier flight.

All excellencies being solde vs at the hard price of labour, it followes, where we bestow

most thereof, we buy the best successe : and Ryme being farre more laborious than loose measures (whatsoever is objected) must needs, meeting with wit and industrie, breed greater and worthier effects in our language. So that if our labours have wrought out a manumission from bondage, and that we got at libertie, notwithstanding these ties, we are no longer the slaues of Ryme, but we make it a most excellent instrument to serue vs. Nor is this certaine limit obserued in Sonnets, any tyrannicall bounding of the conceit, but rather reducing it in *giram*, and a *iust* forme, neither too long for the shortest proiect, nor too short for the longest, being but onely imployed for a present passion. For the bodie of our imagination, being as an vnformed *Chaos* without fashion, without day, if by the deuine power of the Spirit it be wrought into an Orbe of order and forme, is it not more pleasing to Nature, that desires a certainty, and comports not with that which is infinite, to have these clozes, rather than not to know where to end, or how farre to goe, especially seeing our passions are often without measure ? And we find the best of the Latines many times, either not concluding, or els otherwise in the end then they began. Besides is it not most delightful to see much

excellently ordered in a small roome, or a little gallantly disposed and made to fill vp a space of like capacitie, in such sort, that the one would not appeare so beautifull in a larger circuit, nor the other doe well in a lesse : which often we finde to be so, according to the powers of Nature and the workman. And these limited proportions and rests of stanzas, consisting of six, seuen or eight lines, are of that happinesse both for the disposition of the matter, the apt planting the sentence where it may best stand to hit the certein close of delight, with the full bodie of a iust period well carried is such, as neither the Greekes or Latines euer attained vnto : for their boundless running on often so confounds the Reader, that hauing once lost himselfe, must either giue off vnsatisfied, or vncertainly cast backe to retriue the escaped sense, and to finde way againe into this matter.

Me thinks we should not so soone yeeld our consents captiue to the authoritie of Antiquitie, vnlesse we saw more reason ; all our vnderstandings are not to be built by the square of *Greece* and *Italie*. We are the children of nature as well as they, we are not so placed out of the way of iudgement, but that the same Sun of Discretion shineth vpon vs ; we have

one portion of the same virtues as well as of the same vices, *Et Catilinam Quocunque in populo videas quocunque sub are.* Time and the turne of things bring about these faculties according to the present estimation : and *Res temporibus non tempora rebus servire oportet.* So that we must neuer rebell against vse : *Quem penes arbitrium est, et vis et norma loquendi.*¹ It is not the obseruing of *Trochaicques* nor their *Iambicques* that will make our writings ought the wiser. All their Poesie, all their Philosophie is nothing vnlesse wee bring the discerning light of conceit with vs to applie it to vse. It is not books but only that great booke of the world and the all-ouerspreading grace of heaven that makes men truly iudiciall. Nor can it but touch of arrogant ignorance to holde this or that Nation Barbarous, these or those times grosse, considering how this manifolde creature man, wheresoeuer he stand in the World, hath alwayes some disposition of woorth, entertaines the order of societie, affects that which is most in vse, and is eminent in some one thing or other, that fits his humour and the times. The Grecians held all other nations barbarous but themselves, yet Pyrrhus when he saw the well

¹ Horace : *Ars Poet.* 72.

ordered marching of the Romans, which made them see their presumptuous error, could say it was no barbarous manner of proceeding. The *Gothes*, *Vandales* and Longobards, whose coming downe like an inundation, ouerwhelmed, as they say, all the glorie of learning in *Europe*, haue yet left vs stil their Lawes and Customes, as the originals of most of the prouinciall constitutions of Christendome, which being well considered with their other courses of gouernment, may serue to cleare them from this imputation of ignorance. And though the vanquished neuer speake well of the Conqueror, yet even throw the vnsound couerings of maledictions appeare those monuments of truth, as argue well their worth, and prooues them not without iudgement, though without Greeke and Latine.

Will not experience confute vs, if we should say the State of China, which neuer heard of Anapastiques, Trochiques and Tribacques, were grosse, barbarous and vnciuill? And is it not a most apparent ignorance, both of the succession of learning in *Europe*, and the generall course of things, to say *that all lay pitifully deformed in those lacke-learning times from the declining of the Roman Empire till the light of the Latine tongue was reuiued by Rew-*

*cline, Erasmus and Moore?*¹ When for three hundred yeeres before them, about the coming downe of *Tamerlaine* into *Europe*, *Franciscus Petrarcha* (who then no doubt likewise found whom to imitate) shewed all the best notions of learning, in that degree of excellencie both in Latine, Prose and Verse, and in the vulgar Italian, as all the wits of posteritie haue not yet much ouer-matched him in all kindes to this day: his great Volumes in Morall Philosophie, shew his infinite reading, and most happy power of disposition: his twelue *Æglogues*, his *Africa* containing nine bookes of the last Punicke war, with his three bookes of Epistles in Latine verse,² shew all the transformation of wit and inuention, that a spirit naturally borne to the inheritance of Poetrie and iudiciall knowledge could expresse: all which notwithstanding wrought him not that glory and fame with his owne Nation as did his Poems in Italian, which they esteeme aboue all whatsoeuer wit could haue inuented in any other forme than wherein it is: which questionlesse they will not change with the best

¹ Cf. *Campion's Observations, ante*, p. 157.

² Petrarch's Latin works were better known to the Elizabethans than to us. Daniel's *Delian Sonnets* (v. sonnet xliii.) prove how well he knew Petrarch in his Italian.

measures of Greekes and Latines can shew them, howsoever our Aduersary imagines.

Nor could this very same innouation in verse begun amongst them by C. Tolomœi, but die in the attempt, and was buried as soon as it came borne, neglected as a prodigious and vnnatural issue amongst them : nor could it neuer induce Tasso the woonder of Italie, to write that admirable Poem of *Jerusalem* comparable to the best of the Ancients, in any other forme than the accustomed verse.

And with *Petrarch* liued his scholar *Boccacius*, and neere about the same time *Johannis Rauenensis*,¹ and from these, *tanquam exequo Teviano*, seemes to haue issued all those famous Italian Writers, *Leonardus Aretinus*,² *Valla*,³ *Poggins*,⁴ *Blondus*,⁵ and many others. Then *Emmanuel Chrysolarus*,⁶ a Constantinopolitan gentleman, renowned for his learning and vertue, being employed by John Paleologus Emperour of the East, to implore the aide of Christian Princes, for the succouring of perishing *Greece* ; and vnderstanding in the meane

¹ John of Ravenna, d. 1420.

² Leonardo Bruni, surnamed Aretino, 1369-1444.

³ Lorenzo Valla, the great Latinist, 1406-57.

⁴ Poggo Bracciolini, 1380-1459.

⁵ Biondo, the Archæologist, 1388-1463.

⁶ He died 1415.

time, how Baiazeth was taken prisoner by *Tamerlane*, and his country freed from danger, stayed still at *Venice*, and there taught the Greeke tongue, discontinued before in those parts the space of seven hundred yeeres.

Him followed *Bessarion*,¹ *George Trapezantius*,² *Theodorus Gaza*,³ and others, transporting Philosophy beaten by the Turke out of *Greece* into Christendome. Thereupon came that mightie confluence of Learning in these parts, which returning as it were *per post-liminium*, and here meeting them with the new inuented stampe of Printing, spread it selfe indeed in a more vniuersall sort then the world had euer heretofore had it.

When *Pomponius Lætus*,⁴ *Æneas Sylvius*,⁵ *Angelus Politianus*,⁶ *Hermolaus Barbarus*,⁷ *Johnnes Picus de mirandula*,⁸ the miracle and Phoenix of the world, adorned *Italia* and wakened other Nations likewise with this desire of glory, long before it brought forth *Rewclen*, *Erasmus* and Moore, worthy men I confesse,

¹ Cardinal Bessarien, 1395-1472.

² 1396-1485.

³ Byzantine grammarian, 1400-78.

⁴ Italian schoolman and philosopher, 1425-97.

⁵ *I.e.*, Pope Pius II., d. 1464.

⁶ Lorenzo de Medicis Poliziano, 1454-94.

⁷ Ermolao Barbaro, 1454-95.

⁸ 'The marvellous Mirandula,' 1463-94.

and the last a great ornament to this land, and a Rymer.

And yet long before all these, was not our Nation behinde in her portion of spirit and worthinesse, but concurrent with the best of all this lettered world: witnesse venerable *Bede*, that flourished about a thousand yeeres since¹: *Aldelmus* Durotelmus, that liued in the yeere 739,² of whom we finde this commendation registered: *omnium Poetarum sui temporis facilé primus, tantæ eloquentiæ, maiestatis et eruditionis homo fuit, vt nunquam satis admirari possim vnde illi in tam barbara ac eundi ætate facundia accreuerit, vsque adeo omnibus numeris tersa elegans et rotunda, versus edidit cum antiquitate de palma contendentes.* Witnesse *Josephus* Deuonius,³ who wrote *de bello Troiano* in so excellent a manner, and so neere resembling Antiquitie, as printing his works beyond the seas, they haue ascribed it to *Cornelius Negros*, one of the Ancients.

What should I name *Walterus Mape*,⁴

¹ 673-735.

² St. Aldhelm, d. 709.

³ *Josephus* Iscanus, Joseph of Exeter, fl. 1190.

⁴ *Walter Map* (1140-1208?), Author of *De Nugis Curialum*, and putative father of the *Lancelot* romance. The *De Nugis* contains much Welsh legendary matter. A Welshman by descent, he was born at Hereford. He died Archdeacon of Oxford.

Gulielmus Nigellus, Geruasius Tilburiensis,¹ Braeton, Bacon, Ockham, and an infinite Catalogue of excellent men, most of them living about foure hundred yeeres since, and haue left behind them monuments of most profound iudgement and learning in all Sciences. So that it is but the clouds gathered about our owne iudgement that makes vs think all other ages wrapt up in mists, and the great distance between vs that causes vs to imagine men so farre off to be so little in respect of our selves.

Wee must not looke vpon the immense course of times past as men ouerlooke spacious and wide countreys, from off high mountaines, and are neuer the neere to iudge of the true nature of the soile or the particular sight and face of those territories they see. Nor must we thinke, viewing the superficiall figure of a region in a Map, that we know straight the fashion and place as it is ; or reading an Historie (which is but a Map of Men)² and doth no otherwise acquaint vs with the true substance of circumstances, then a superficiall Card doth the Seaman with a coast neuer seene (which alwayes

¹ Gervaise of Tilbury.

² Cf. *Musophilus*: 'The world, th' universal map of deeds.'

proves other to the eye then imagination forecasts it) that presently we know all the world, and can distinctly iudge of times, men and manners, iust as they were.

When the best measure of man is to be taken by his owne foote bearing euer the neerest proportion to himselfe, and is neuer so farre different and vnequall in his powers, that hee hath all in perfection at one time and not at another.

The distribution of gifts are vniversall, and all seasons haue them in some sort. Wee must not thinke, but that there were *Scipios*, *Cæsars*, *Catos*, and *Pompeys*, borne elsewhere than at *Rome*; the rest of the world hath euer had them in the same degree of Nature, though not of State. And it is our weaknesse that makes vs mistake or misconcieue in these delineations of men the true figure of their woorth. And our passion and beliefe is so apt to leade vs beyond trueth that vnlesse we trie them by the just compasse of humanitie, and as they were men, we shal cast their figures in the aire, when we should make their models vpon earth. It is not the contexture of words, but the effects of action that gives glorie to the times: wee finde they had *Mercurium in pectore*, though not in *lingua*; and in all ages, though they were not Ciceronians, they knew the *Arte*

of men,¹ which onely is *Ars Artium*, the great gift of heauen, and the chiefe grace and glory on earth; they had the learning of gouernment, and ordering their State; eloquence enough to shew their iudgements; and it seemeth the best times followed *Lycurgus* counsell; *Literas ad vsum saltem discebant, reliqua omnis discipline erat, vt pulchre pararent vt labores preferrent &c.*²

Had not vnlearned *Rome* layd the better foundation, and built the stronger frame of an admirable State, eloquent *Rome* had confounded it vtterly, which wee saw ranne the way of all confusion, the plaine course of dissolution in her greatest skill: and though she had not power to vndo herselfe, yet wrought she so, that she cast herselfe quite away from the glory of a Commonwealth, and fell upon the forme of State shee euer most feared and abhorred of all other: and then scarce was there seene any shadow of policy vnder her first Emperors, but the most horrible and grosse confusion that could be conceiued; notwithstanding it still endured, preseruing not onely a Monarchie, locked vp in her owne limits, but therewithall held vnder her obedience so

¹ *Musophilus*:

‘The world’s affairs require in managing

More arts than those wherein you clerks proceed.’

² v. his oration, *Contra Leocratem* (?)

many Nations, so farre distant, so ill affected, so disorderly commanded and vniustly conquered, as it is not to be attributed to any other fate but to the first frame of that Commonwealth ; which was so strongly ioyned, and with such infinite combinations interlinct as one naile or other euer held vp the Maiesty thereof.

There is but one learning, which *omnes gentes habent scriptum in cordibus suis*, one and the selfe-same spirit that worketh in all. We have but one bodie of Iustice, one bodie of Wisdome thorowout the whole world ; which is but apparelled according to the fashion of euery Nation.

Eloquence and gay wordes are not of the substance of wit ; it is but the garnish of a nice time, the ornaments that doe decke the house of a State, and *imitatur publicos mores* : Hunger is as well satisfied with meat serued on pewter as siluer. Discretion is the best measure, the rightest foot, in what pase soeuer it run.

Erasmus, *Rewcline*,¹ and *Moore* brought no more wisdome into the world with all their new reuiued words than we finde was before ; it bred not a profounder Diuine then *S. Thomas*,²

¹ Reuchlin, (1455-1522), Author of *De Arte Cabalistica*, &c.

² *I.e.* St. Thomas Aquinas, the 'Angelic Doctor.'

a greater Lawyer then Bartolus, a more acute Logician then *Scotus* :¹ nor are the effects of all this great amasse of eloquence, so admirable or of that consequence, but that *impega illa antiquitas* can yet compare with it.

Let vs goe no further, but looke vpon the woonderfull Architecture of the State of *England*, and see whether they were deformed times that could giue it such a forme : where there is no one the least pillar of maiestie, but was set with most profound iudgement, and borne vp with the iust conueniencie of Prince and people ; no Court of iustice, but layd by the rule and square of Nature, and the best of the Commonwealths that euer were in the world : so strong and substantial as it hath stood against all the stormes of factions, both of beleefe and ambition, which so powerfully beat vpon it, and all the tempestuous alterations of humorous times whatsoeuer ; being continually in all ages furnisht with spirits fit to maintaine the Maiestie of her owne greatnesse, and to match in an equal concurrencie all other kingdoms round about her, with whom it had to encounter.

But this innouation, like a Viper, must euer

¹ Duns Scotus (1265-1308), another 'angelic' Doctor.

make way into the world's opinion, thorow the bowels of her owne breeding, and is alwayes borne with reproach in her mouth ; the disgracing others is the best grace it can put on, to win reputation of wit; and yet it is neuer so wise as it would seeme, nor doeth the world euer get so much by it as it imagineth ; which being so often deceiued, and seeing it neuer performes so much as it promises, wee think men should neuer giue more credit vnto it ; for, let vs change neuer so often, we can not change man ; our imperfections must still run with vs : and therefore the wiser Nations have taught men alwayes to vse, *Moribus legibusque presentibus etiamsi deteriores sint.* The Lacedæmonians, when a Musician thinking to win himselfe credit by his new inuention, and be before his fellowes, had added one string more to his crowd, brake his fiddle, and banished him the Citie, holding the Innouator, though in the least things dangerous to a public societie. It is but a fantasticke giddinesse to forsake the way of other men, especially where it lies tolerable : *Vbi nunc est Republica, ibi simus potius quam dum illum veterem sequimur, simus in nulla.*

But shall we not tend to perfection ? Yes : and that euer best by going on in the course we are in, where we haue aduantage, being so

farre onward, of him that is but now setting foorth.¹ For wee shall neuer proceed, if we be euer beginning, nor arriue at any certaine port, sailing with all windes that blow : *Non conualescit planta quæ sæpius transfertur*, and therefore let vs holde on in the course we haue vndertaken, and not still be wandring. Perfection is not the portion of man ; and if it were, why may we not as well get to it this way as another, and suspect those great vndertakers, lest they have conspired with enui to betray our proceedings, and put vs by the honour of our attemps, with casting vs backe vpon another course, of purpose to ouerthrow the whole action of glory when we lay the fairest for it, and were so neere our hopes ? I thanke God that I am none of these great Scholars, if thus their high knowledges doe but giue them more eyes to looke out into vncertaintie and confusion, accounting my selfe rather beholding to mine ignorance, that hath set me in so lowe an vnderroome of conceit with other men, and hath giuen me as much distrust, as it hath done hope, daring not aduenture to goe alone, but

¹ ' For emulation, that proud nurse of Wit,
Scorning to stay below or come behinde,
Labours vpon that narrow top to sit
Of sole Perfection in the highest kinde.'

—*Musophilus*, 259-62.

plodding on the plaine tract I finde beaten by Custome and the Time, contenting me with what I see in vse.

And surely me thinks these great wits should rather seeke to adorne, than to disgrace the present, bring something to it, without taking from it what it hath.¹ But it is euer the misfortune of Learning to be wounded by her owne hand. *Stimulos dat emula virtus*, and where there is not abilitie to match what is, malice will finde out engines, either to disgrace or ruine it, with a peruerse encounter of some new impression ; and, which is the greatest miserie, it must euer proceed from the powers of the best reputation, as if the greatest spirits were ordained to indanger the world, as the grosse are to dishonour it ; and that we were to expect *ab optimis periculum, a pessimis dedecus publicum*. Emulation the strongest pulse that beats in high mindes is oftentimes a winde, but of the worst effect ; for whilst the soule comes disappointed of the object it wrought on ; it presently forges another, and euen couzins it selfe, and crosses all the world, rather than it will stay to be vnder her desires, falling

¹ Cf. *Musophilus*, 767, 8 :

‘ O scatt’ring gath’rers, that without regard
Of times to come, will, to be made, undo ! ’ &c.

out with all it hath, to flatter and make faire that which it would haue.

So that it is the ill successe of our longings that with *Xerxes* makes vs to whip the sea, and send a cartell of defiance to Mount *Athos* :¹ and the fault layed vpon others weaknesse, is but a promiscuous opinion of our owne strength, who must not seem to be mastered. But had our Aduersarie taught vs by his owne proceedings this way of perfection therein framed vs a Poem of that excellencie, as should haue put downe all, and been the masterpeece of these times, wee should all haue admired him : but to deprauē the present style of writing, and to bring vs nothing but a few loose and vncharitable Epigrammes, and yet would make vs beleue those numbers were come to raise the glorie of our language, giueth vs cause to suspect the performance, and to examine whether this new Art *constat sibi*, or, *aliquid sit dictum quod non sit dictum prius*.

First, we must heere imitate the Greeks and Latines, and yet we are heere shewed to disobey them even in their owne numbers and quantities ; taught to produce what they make short, and make short what they produce ; make beleue to be shewed measures in that

¹ V. Herodotus, 6. 44 ; 7. 21 ; &c.

forme we haue not seene, and in such matter ; tolde that ñeere is the perfect Art of versifying, which in conclusion is yet confessed to be vnperfect, as if our aduersarie to be opposite to vs, were, become vnfaithfull to himselfe, and seeking to lead vs out of the way of reputation, hath aduentured to intricate and confound him in his owne courses ; running vpon most vneuen ground, with imperfect rules, weake proofs, and vnlawful lawes ; whereunto the world, I am perswaded, is not so vnreasonable as to subscribe, considering the vniust authoritie of the Law-giuer : for who hath constituted him to be the *Radamanthus*,¹ thus to torture syllables, and adiudge them in their perpetuall doome, setting his *Theta* or marke of condemnation vpon them, to endure the appointed sentence of his crueltie, as he shall dispose ? as though there were that disobedience in our words, as they would not be ruled, or stand in order without so many intricate lawes ; which would argue a great peruersenesse amongst them, according to that, *in pessima republica plurimæ leges*, or, that they were so farre gone from the quiet freedome of Nature, that they must be brought backe againe by force. And now in what case

¹ The son of Jupiter and Europa, who became a ‘ judge of Hell.’ Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 9. 435.

were this poore state of words, if in like sort another tyrant the next yeere should arise and abrogate these lawes, and ordaine others cleane contrary, according to his humor, and say that they were only right, the others vniust? What disturbance were there heere? to whom should we obey? Were it not far better to holde vs fast to our olde custome, then to stand thus distracted with vncertaine lawes, wherein right shall haue as many faces as it pleases. Passion to make it; that wheresoeuer mens affections stand, it shall still looke that way? What trifles doth our vnconstant curiositie call vp to contend for? What colours are there layd vpon indifferent things to make them seem other than they are? as if it were but onely to entertaine contestation amongst men, who standing according to the prospectiue of their owne humour, seeme to see the selfe same things to appeare otherwise to them than either they do to others, or are indeed in them selues being but all one in nature. For what adoe haue we heere? what strange precepts of Arte about the framing of an Iambique verse in our language?¹ which when all is done, reaches not by a foot, but falleth out to be the plaine ancient verse, consisting of ten syllables

¹ Cf. *Campion's Observations*, p. 172.

or five feet, which hath euer beene vsed amongst vs time out of mind. And for all this cunning and counterfeited name can or will be any other in nature then it hath beene euer heretofore: and this new *Demeter* is but the halfe of this verse diuided in two, and no other then the *Cæsura* or breathing place in the midst thereof, and therefore it had been as good to haue put two lines in one, but onely to make them seeme diuers. Nay it had been much better for the true English reading and pronouncing thereof, without violating the accent, which now our aduersarie hath herein most vnkindly done: for, being as wee are to sound it, according to our English march,¹ we must make a rest, and raise the last syllable, which falles out very vnnaturall in *Desolate*, *Funerall*, *Elizabeth*, *Prodigall*, and in all the rest sauving the Monosyllable. Then follows the English *Trochaicke*, which is said to be a simple verse, and so indeed it is, being without Ryme: hauing heere no other grace then that in sound it runnes like the knowen measure of our former ancient Verse, (ending as we terme it according to the French) in a feminine foot, sauving that it is shorter by one syllable at the beginning,

¹ Cf. *Campion's Observations*, p. 173.

which is not much missed, by reason it falles full at the last.

Next comes the *Elegiacke*,¹ being the fourth kinde, and that likewise is no other then our accustomed measure of five feet : if there be any difference, it must be made in the reading, and therein we must stand bound to stay where often wee would not, and sometimes either break the accent, or the due course of the word. And now for the other foure kindes of numbers, which are to be implor'd for *Odes*, they are either of the same measure, or such as haue euer beene familiarly vsed amongst vs. So that of all these eight seuerall kinds of new promised numbers, you see what wee haue. Only what was our owne before, and the same but apparelled in forreigne Titles ; which had they come in their kinde and naturall attire of Ryme, wee should neuer haue suspected that they affected to be other, or sought to degenerate into strange maners, which now wee see was the cause why they were turned out of their proper habit, and brought in as Aliens, only to induce men to admire them as farre-commers. But see the power of nature ; it is not all the artificiall condition, which breaks out thorow the strongest bands of affectation,

¹ Cf. Campion's *Observations*, ante, p. 173.

and will be it selfe, do Singularity what it can. And as for those imagined quantities of syllables, which haue beene euer held free and indifferent in our language, who can inforce vs to take knowledge of them, being *in nullius verba iurati*, and owing fealtie to no forreigne inuention? especially in such a case where there is no necessitie in nature, or that it imports either the matter or forme, whether it be so, or otherwise. But euery Versifier that well obserues his worke findes in our language, without all these vnnecessary precepts, what numbers best fit the nature of her Idiom, and the proper places destined to such accents as she will not let in to any other roomes then in those for which they were borne. As for example, you cannot make this fall into the right sound of a verse—

None thinks reward rendered worthy his worth,
vnlesse you thus misplace the accent vpon
Rendered and Worthy, contrary to the nature
of these wordes: which sheweth that two
feminine numbers or (Trochees, if so you will
call them) will not succeed in the third and
fourth place of the verse. And so likewise in
this case,

Though death doth consume, yet vertue preserves,

it will not be a verse though it hath the iust syllables, without the same number in the second, and the altering of the fourth place in this sort :

Though death doth ruine, vertue yet preserues.¹

Againe, who knowes not that we can not kindly answeare a feminine number with a masculine Ryme, (or if you will so terme it) a *Trochei* with a *Sponde*, as *Weaknesse* with *Confesse*, *Nature* and *Indure*, only for that thereby we shall wrong the accent, the chiefe Lord and graue Gouvernor of Numbers. Also in a verse of foure feet place a *Trochei* in the first without a like offence as, *Yeerely out of his watry cell*: for so you shall sound it *Yeerelié* which is vnnaturall. And such other like obseruations vsually occurre, which Nature and a iudiciall care of themselves teach vs readily to auoid.

But now for whom hath our Aduersary taken all this paines? For the learned or for the ignorant, or for himselfe, to shew his owne skill? If for the learned, it was to no purpose, for euery Grammarian in this land hath learned his *Prosodia*, and already knowes all this Art of numbers: if for the ignorant, it

¹ Cf. *Campion, ante*, p. 175.

was vain : for if they become Versifiers, wee are like to haue leane numbers, instead of fat Ryme : and if Tullie would haue his Oratour¹ skill'd in all the knowledges appertaining to God and man, what should they haue, who would be a degree aboue Oratours ? Why then it was to shew his owne skill, and what himselfe had obserued ; so he might well haue done, without doing wrong to the dead, wrong to the fame of the liuing, and wrong to *England*, in seeking to lay reproch vpon her natie ornaments, and to turne the faire streame and full course of her accents into the shallow current of a loose vncerteintie, cleane out of the way of her knowen delight. And I had thought it could neuer haue proceeded from the pen of a Scholar (who sees no profession free from the impure mouth of the scorner) to say the reproch of others idle tongues is the curse of Nature vpon vs,² when it is rather her curse vpon him, that knowes not how to vse his toong. What, doth he thinke himselfe is now gotten so farre out of the way of contempt, that his numbers are gone beyond the reach of obloquie, and that how friuolous or idle soeuer they shall runne, they shall be protected from disgrace ? as though that light

¹ Cf. Cicero, *De Oratore*. ² Cf. Campion, *ante*, p. 176.

Rymes and light numbers did not weigh all alike in the graue opinion of the wise ; and that is not Ryme, but our idle Arguments that hath brought downe to so base a reckoning the price and estimation of writing in this kind ; when the few good things of this age, by comming together in one throng and presse with the bad, are not discerned from them but ouerlooked with them, and all taken to be alike. But when after-times shall make a quest of Inquirie, to examine the best of this age, peraduenture there will be found in the now contemned Records of Ryme, matter not vnfitting the grauest Diuine and seuerest Lawyer in this Kingdome. But these things must haue the date of Antiquitie to make them reuerend and authentically ; for euer the collation of Writers, men rather weigh their age then their merit and *legunt priscos cum reuerentia, quando coetaneos non possunt sine insidia. Simplicius longé posita miramur.* And let no Writer in Ryme be any way discouraged in his endeauour by this braue allarme, but rather animated to bring vp all the best of their powers, and charge with the words all the strength of Nature and Industrie vpon contempt, that the shew of their real forces may turne backe insolencie into her

owne holde. For, be sure, that inouation neuer works any ouerthrow but vpon the aduantage of a carelesse idlenesse. And let this make vs look the better to our feet, the better to our matter, the better to our maners. Let the Aduersarie that to hurt vs, bring more profit and honor, by being against vs, than if he had stood still on our side. For that (next to the aire of heauen) the best reine, the strongest hand to make men keepe their way, is that which their enemy beares vpon them : and let this be the benefit we make by being oppugned, and the meanes to redeeme backe the good opinion vanitie and idlenesse haue suffered to be won from vs ; which, nothing but substance and matter can effect. For *Scribendi recté sapere est et principium et fons*.¹

When we heare Musicke, we must be in our eare in the vtter-roome of sense, but when we entertaine iudgement, we retire into the cabinet and innermost withdrawing chamber of the soule : And it is but as Musick for the eare.

Verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,²

but it is a worke of power for the soule,

Numerósque modósque ediscere vitæ.³

¹ Cf. Horace : *Ars Poet.*, 309.

² Horace, ii. 2, 143.

³ Idem., ii. 2, 144.

The most iudiciall and worthy spirits of this land are not so delicate, or will owe so much to their eare, as to rest vpon the outside of words, and be entertained with sound ; seeing that both Number, Measure, and Ryme, is but as the ground or seat, wherevpon is raised the work that commends it, and which may be easilie at the first found out by any shallow conceit : as we see some fantasticke to begin a fashion, which afterward grauitie itselife is faine to put on, because it will not be out of the wear of other men, and *Recti apud nos locum tenet error vbi publicus factus est.* And power and strength that can plant it selfe any where, hauing built within this compasse, and rear'd it of so high a respect, wee now embrace it as the fittest dwelling for our inuention, and haue thereon bestowed all the substance of our vnderstanding to furnish it as it is.¹ And therefore heere I stand foorth, only to make good the place we haue thus taken vp, and to defend the sacred monuments erected therein, which containe the honour of the dead, the fame of the liuing, the glory of peace, and the best power of our speech, and wherein so many

¹ ' For this is that close kept *Palladium*,
Which once remov'd, brings ruin evermore.'

—*Musophilus.*

honourable spirits haue sacrificed to Memorie their dearest passions, shewing by what diuine influence they haue beene moued and vnder what starres they liued.

But yet notwithstanding all this which I haue heare deliuered in the defence of Ryme I am not so farre in loue with mine owne mystery, or will seeme so froward, as to be against the reformation and the better settling these measures of ours:¹ wherein there bee manie things I could wish were more certaine and better ordered, though my selfe dare not take vpon mee to be a Teacher therein, hauing so much need to learne of others. And I must confesse, that to mine owne eare, those continuall cadences of couplets vsed in long and continued Poems are verie tiresome and vnpleasing, by reason that still me thinks run on, with a sound of one nature, and a kinde of certainty which stuffes the delight rather than entertaines it. But yet notwithstanding, I must not of mine owne daintinesse condemne this kinde of writing, which peradventure to another may seeme most delightfull: and worthy compositions we see to haue passed with commendation in that kind.

‘As one that am not so possest with Love
Of what I doe, but that I rather beare
An eare to learne, then a tongue to disprove,’ &c.
—*Musophilus*, 523-5.

Besides me thinks sometimes to beguile the eare with a running out and passing ouer the Ryme, as no bound to stay vs in the line, where the violence of the matter will breake thorow, is rather gracefull then otherwise : wherein I find my Homer-Lucan, as if hee gloried to seeme to haue no bounds, albeit he were confined within his measures to be in my conceit most happie : For so thereby, they who care not for Verse or Ryme may passe it ouer with taking notice thereof, and please themselues with a well measured Prose. And I must confesse my Aduersarie hath wrought this much vpon mee, that I thinke a Tragedie would indeed best comport with a blancke Verse and dispence with Ryme,¹ sauing in the *Chorus*, or where a sentence shall require a couplet. And to auoid this ouer-glutting the eare with that alwayes certeine and full incounter of Ryme, I haue assayed in some of my Epistles² to alter the vsuall place of meeting, and to set it further off by one Verse, to trie how I could disuse mine owne eare, and to case it of this continuall burden which indeed seems to surcharge it a little too much ; but as

¹ One of Daniel's unrhymed Senecan tragedies, *Cleopatra*, appeared in 1594 : *Philotas*, on the same unvaried model, followed the *Defence*, in 1611.

² V. his rhymed *Epistles* to the Lord Henry Howard, to the Lady Anne Clifford, &c.

yet I can not come to please my selfe therein, this alternate or crosse Ryme holding still the best place in my affection.

Besides, to me this change of number in a Poem of one nature fits not so well, as to mixe vncertainly feminine Rymes with masculine; which euer since I was warned of that deformitie by my kinde friend and countrey-man M. Hugh Samford, I have alwayes so auoided it, as there are not aboue two couplets in that kinde in all my Poem of the Ciuill warres: and I would willingly if I could, haue altered it in all the rest, holding feminine Rymes to be fittest for Ditties, and either to be set for certaine, or els by themselves. But in these things, I say I dare not take vpon mee to teach that they ought to be so, in respect my selfe holds them to be so, or that I thinke it right; for indeed there is no right in these things that are continuallie in a wandering motion carried with the violence of vncertaine likings, being but onely the time that giues them their power. For if this right or trueth should be no other thing then we make it, we shall shape it into a thousand figures, seeing this excellent Painter, Man, can so well lay the colours which himselfe grindes in his owne affections, as that hee will make them serue for any shadow and any counterfet.

But the greatest hinderer to our proceedings and the reformation of our errours, is this self-loue, whereunto we Versifiers are euer noted to be specially subject ; a disease of all other the most dangerous and incurable, being once seated in the spirits, for which there is no cure but only by a spirituall remedie. *Multos puto, ad sapientiam potuisse peruenire, nisi putassent se peruenisse* : and this opinion of our sufficiencie makes so great a crack in our iudgement, as it will hardly euer hold any thing of woorth, *Cacus amor sui* :¹ and though it would seeme to see all without it, yet certainly it discernes but little within : for there is not the simplest Writer that will euer tell himselfe he doth ill, but as if hee were the Parasite onely to sooth his owne doings, perswades him that his liues can not but please others, which so much delight himselfe :

Suffenus est quisq. sibi—neq idem vnquam.
Aequè est beatus, ac poema cum scribit,
Tam gaudet in se tamque se ipse miratur.

And the more to shew that he is so, wee shall see him euermore in all places, and to all persons repeating his owne compositions : and

Quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditq. legendo.²

Next to this deformitie stands our affectation,³

¹ Horace, *Od.*, 18. 14. ² Cf. Horace, *Ars Poet.*, 475.

³ 'Whereby we come to burie our desarts,
In th' obscure grave of Singularitie.'—*Musophilus*.

wherein we alwayes bewray our selues to be both vnkinde and vnnaturall to our owne natieue language, in disguising or forging strange or vnusuall words, as if it were to make our Verse seeme another kinde of speech out of the course of our vsual practise, openly vpon a singularitie ; when owre accustomed phrase, set in the due place, would expresse vs more familiarly and to better delight then all this idle affectation of antiquitie or noueltie can euer do. And I cannot but wonder at the strange presumption of some men, that dare so audaciously aduenture to introduce any whatsoeuer forren words, be they neuer so strange ;¹ and of themselves, as it were, without a Parliament, without any consent or allowance, stablish them as free denizens in our language. But this is but a character of that perpetuall reuolution which wee see in all things that neuer remaine the same : and we must heerein be content to submit our selues to the law of time, which in few yeeres will make all that for which wee now contend, *Nothing*.

¹ Cf. *Musophilus*—

‘ . . . weake impotent,
That beare out their disease with a stol’n face ! ’

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE *GUARDIAN*
CONSIDERED. By JONATHAN SWIFT ¹

THE PREFACE

MR S——LE in his *Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge*² has given us leave to treat him as we think fit, as he is our Brother-Scribbler ; but not to attack him as an honest Man. *That is to say, he allows us to be his Criticks, but not his Answerers ; and he is altogether in the right, for there is in his Letter much to be Criticised and little to be Answered. The Situation and Importance of Dunkirk are pretty well known. Mons. Tugghe's Memorial, published and handed about by the Whigs, is allowed to be a very Trifling Paper :³ and as to the immediate Demolishment of that Town, Mr St—— pre-*

¹ In a Second Letter to the Bailiff of *Stockbridge* by a Friend of Mr St——le [Sir Richard Steele]. London : Printed for John Morpew, near Stationers Hall, 1713. Price 6d.

² *Vide* p. 40 of Steele's Pamphlet. *Cf.* also p. 59 : ' But I give up myself to all nameless Authors, to be treated just as their Mirth or their Malice directs them.'

³ Toland the Deist (says Scott) alleged in a pamphlet entitled '*Dunkirk, or Dover,*' that Tugghe's paper was hawked thro' the streets under direct instigation of the ministry.

tends to offer no other Argument but the Expectations of the People, which is a figurative Speech, naming the tenth Part for the whole: As Bradshaw told King Charles I. that the People of England Expected Justice against him. I have therefore entred very little into the Subject he pretends to Treat, but have considered his Pamphlet partly as a Critick, and partly as a Commentator, which, I think, is to treat him only as my Brother-Scribbler, according to the Permission he has graciously allowed me.

TO THE WORSHIPFUL

MR JOHN SNOW,

Bailiff of Stockbridge.

Sir,—I Have just been reading a Twelve-peny Pamphlet about *Dunkirk*, addressed to your Worship from one of your intended Representatives; and I find several Passages in it which want Explanation, especially to You in the Country: For we in Town have a way of Talking and Writing which is very little understood beyond the Bills of Mortality. I have therefore made bold to send you here a second Letter, by way of Comment upon the former.

In order to this, *you Mr Bailiff, and at the same time the whole Burrough,* may please to

take Notice, that *London-Writers* often put Titles to their Papers and Pamphlets which have little or no Reference to the main Design of the Work : So, for Instance, you will observe in reading, that the Letter called *The Importance of Dunkirk*, is chiefly taken up in shewing you the *Importance* of Mr *St*—— ; wherein it was indeed reasonable your Burrough should be informed, which had chosen him to Represent them.

I would therefore place the *Importance* of this Gentleman before you in a clearer Light than he has given himself the Trouble to do ; without running into his early History, because I owe him no Malice.

Mr *St*—— is Author of two tolerable Plays,¹ (or at least of the greatest part of them) which, added to the Company he kept, and to the continual Conversation and Friendship of Mr *Ad——son*, hath given him the Character of a Wit. To take the height of his Learning, you are to suppose a Lad just fit for the University, and sent early from thence into the wide World,² where he followed every way of Life

¹ Three, before 1713 : 'The Funeral,' 'The Tender Husband' (in which Addison collaborated), and 'The Lying Lover.'

² Steele went to Charterhouse, and thence into the army, without going to an University.

that might least improve or preserve the Rudiments he had got. He hath no Invention, nor is Master of a tolerable Style ; his chief Talent is Humour, which he sometimes discovers both in Writing and Discourse ; for after the first Bottle he is no disagreeable Companion. I never knew him taxed with Ill-nature, which hath made me wonder how Ingratitude came to be his prevailing Vice ; and I am apt to think it proceeds more from some unaccountable sort of Instinct, than Premeditation. Being the most imprudent Man alive, he never follows the Advice of his Friends, but is wholly at the mercy of Fools or Knaves, or hurried away by his own Caprice ; by which he hath committed more Absurdities in Oeconomy, Friendship, Love, Duty, good Manners, Politics, Religion and Writing, than ever fell to one Man's share. He was appointed Gazetteer by Mr *Harley*¹ (then Secretary of State) at the Recommendation of Mr *Mainwaring*,² with a salary of Three Hundred Pounds ; was a Commissioner of Stamp-Paper of equal Profit, and had a Pension of a Hundred Pound *per*

¹ Afterwards Lord Oxford.

² Arthur Mainwaring, a man of taste and letters ; who from a Jacobite turned Whig, and conducted the *Medley*. He died in 1712, leaving part of his fortune to Mrs Oldfield, the actress, and a natural son he had by her. (S.)

Annum, as a Servant¹ to the late Prince George.

This Gentleman, whom I have now described to you, began between four and five years ago to publish a Paper thrice a Week, called the *Tatler*; It came out under the borrowed Name of Isaac *Bickerstaff*, and by Contribution of his ingenious Friends, grew to have a great Reputation, and was equally esteemed by both Parties, because it meddled with neither. But, sometime after *Sacheverell's* Tryal,² when Things began to change their Aspect; Mr St——, whether by the Command of his Superiors, his own Inconstancy, or the Absence of his Assistants, would needs corrupt his Paper with Politicks; published one or two most virulent Libels,³ and chose for his Subject even that individual Mr *Harley*, who had made him Gazetteer. But his Finger and Thumb not proving strong enough to stop the general Torrent, there was an universal Change made in the Ministry; and the Two new Secretaries, not thinking it decent to employ a Man in their Office who had acted so infamous a Part; Mr St——, to avoid being discarded, thought fit to resign his Place of Gazetteer. Upon

¹ Gentleman Usher.

² 1710.

³ *Vide The Tatler*, No. 193.

which occasion I cannot forbear relating a Passage to you *Mr Bailiff*, and the rest of the *Burrough*, which discovers a very peculiar Turn of Thought in this Gentleman you have chosen to Represent you. When Mr *Mainwaring* recommended him to the Employment of Gazetteer, Mr *Harley* out of an Inclination to encourage Men of Parts, raised that Office from Fifty Pound to Three Hundred Pound a Year; Mr *St——* according to form, came to give his new Patron Thanks; but the Secretary, who had rather confer a hundred Favours than receive Acknowledgments for one, said to him in a most obliging manner: Pray Sir, do not thank me, but thank Mr *Mainwaring*. Soon after Mr *St——*'s quitting that Employment, he complained to a Gentleman in Office, of the Hardship put upon him in being forced to quit his Place; that he knew Mr *Harley* was the Cause; that he had never done Mr *Harley* any Injury, nor received any Obligation from him. The Gentleman amazed at this Discourse, put him in mind of those Libels published in his *Tatlers*: Mr *St——* said, he was only the Publisher, for they had been sent him by other Hands. The Gentleman thinking this a very monstrous kind of Excuse, and not allowing it, Mr *St——* then said, Well, I have Libelled

him, and he has turned me out, and so we are equal. But neither would this be granted: And he was asked whether the Place of Gazetteer were not an Obligation? No, said he, not from Mr *Harley*; for when I went to thank him, he forbad me, and said I must only thank Mr *Mainwaring*.

But I return, Mr Bailiff, to give you a further Account of this Gentleman's Importance. In less, I think, than Two Years, the Town and He grew weary of the *Tatler*:¹ He was Silent for Some Months; and then a daily Paper came from him and his Friends under the Name of *Spectator*, with good Success: This being likewise dropt after a certain Period, he hath of late appeared under the Style of *Guardian*, which he hath now likewise quitted for that of *Englishman*; but having chosen other Assistance, or trusting more to himself, his Papers have been very coldly received, which hath made him fly for Relief to the never-failing Source of Faction.

On the — of *August*² last, Mr *St*—

¹ *The Tatler* stopped Jan. 2, 1711; *The Spectator* began in March of the same year. *The Guardian* ran from March 12 to October 1, 1713. *The Englishman* appeared in October 6, 1713, which establishes that month as the date of Swift's pamphlet.

² *I.e.*, Aug. 1713.

writes a Letter to *Nestor Ironside*, Esq.; and Subscribes it with the Name of *English Tory*. On the 7th the said *Ironside* publishes this Letter in the *Guardian*. How shall I explain this Matter to you Mr Bailiff, and your Brethren of the Burrough? You must know then, that Mr *St*—— and Mr *Ironside* are the same Persons, because there is a great Relation between *Iron* and *Steel*; and *English Tory* and Mr *St*—— are the same Persons, because there is no Relation at all between Mr *St*—— and an *English Tory*; so that to render this Matter clear to the very meanest Capacities, Mr *English Tory*, the very same Person with Mr *Steele*, writes a Letter to *Nestor Ironside*, Esq.; who is the same Person with *English Tory*, who is the same Person with Mr *Steele*: And Mr *Ironside*, who is the same Person with *English Tory*, publishes the Letter written by *English Tory*, who is the same Person with Mr *Steele*, who is the same Person with Mr *Ironside*. This Letter written and published by these *Three* Gentlemen who are *One* of your Representatives, complains of a printed Paper in *French* and *English*, lately handed about the Town, and given *gratis* to Passengers in the Streets at Noon-day; the Title whereof is, *A most humble Address or Memorial presented to*

Her Majesty the Qu—— of Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk. This Deputy, it seems, is called the *Sieur Tugghe*. Now, the Remarks made upon this Memorial by Mr *English Tory*, in his Letter to Mr *Ironside*, happening to provoke the *Ex-aminer*, and another Pamphleteer, they both fell hard upon Mr *St——*, charging him with Insolence and Ingratitude towards the Qu——. But Mr *St——* nothing daunted, writes a long Letter to you Mr *Bailiff*, and at the same time to the whole Burrough, in his own Vindication: But there being several difficult Passages in this Letter, which may want clearing up, I here send you and the Burrough my Annotations upon it.

Mr *St——* in order to display his *Importance* to your Burrough, begins his Letter by letting you know *he is no small Man*; ¹ because in the Pamphlets he hath sent you down, you will find him *Spoken of more than once in Print*. It is indeed a great Thing to be *spoken of in Print*, and must needs make a mighty Sound at *Stockbridge* among the Electors. However, if Mr *St——* has really sent you down all the Pamphlets and Papers printed since the Dissolution, you will find he is not the only Person

¹ *Vide Steele's pamphlet, p. 1.*

of Importance ; I could Instance *Abel Roper*,¹ Mr *Marten* the Surgeon, Mr *John Moor* the Apothecary at the Pestle and Mortar, Sir *William Read*, Her Majesty's Oculist, and of later Name and Fame, Mr *John Smith* the Corn-cutter, with several others who are *spoken of more than once in Print*.² Then he recommends to your Perusal, and sends you a Copy of a printed Paper given *gratis* about the Streets, which is the Memorial of Monsieur *Tugghe* (above-mentioned) *Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk*, to desire Her Majesty not to demolish the said Town. He tells you how insolent a Thing it is, that such a Paper should be publickly distributed, and he tells you true ; but these Insolences are very frequent among the Whigs : One of their present Topicks for Clamour is *Dunkirk* : Here is a Memorial said to be presented to the Qu—— by an obscure *Frenchman* : One of your Party gets a Copy, and immediately Prints it by Contribution, and delivers it *gratis* to the People ; which answers several Ends. *First*, It is meant to lay an Odium on the Ministry ; *Secondly*, If the Town be soon demolished, Mr *St*—— and his Faction

¹ Abel Roper was the publisher of the *Post Boy*.

² These gentlemen, with the possible exception of Read, were notorious quacks.

have the Merit, their Arguments and Threatnings have frightened my Lord Treasurer. *Thirdly*, If the Demolishing should be further deferred, the Nation will be fully convinced of his Lordship's Intention to bring over the *Pretender*.

Let us turn over fourteen Pages, which contain the Memorial it self, and which is indeed as idle a one as ever I read; we come now to Mr *St——*'s Letter under the Name of *English Tory*, to Mr *Ironside*. In the Preface to this Letter, he hath these Words,¹ *It is certain there is not much danger in delaying the Demolition of Dunkirk during the Life of his present most Christian Majesty, who is renowned for the most inviolable Regard to Treaties; but that pious Prince is Aged, and in case of his Decease, &c.* This Preface is in the Words of Mr *Ironside* a professed Whig, and perhaps you in the country will wonder to hear a Zealot of your own Party celebrating the *French* King for his Piety and his religious Performance of Treaties. For this I can assure you is not spoken in jest, or to be understood by contrary: There is a wonderful resemblance between that Prince and the Party of Whigs among us. Is he for arbitrary Government? So are they: Hath he persecuted Protestants? So have the Whigs: Did he

¹ *Vide* Steele's Pamphlet, p. 15.

attempt to restore King *James* and his pretended Son? They did the same. Would he have *Dunkirk* surrendered to him? This is what they desire. Does he call himself the *Most Christian*? The Whigs assume the same Title, though their Leaders deny Christianity: Does he break his Promises? Did they ever keep theirs?

From the 16th to the 38th Page Mr St——'s Pamphlet is taken up with a Copy of his Letter to Mr *Ironside*, the Remarks of the *Examiner*, and another Author upon that Letter;¹ the Hydrography of some *French* and *English* Ports, and his Answer to Mr *Tugghe's* Memorial. The Bent of his Discourse is in appearance to show of what prodigious Consequence to the Welfare of *England*, the Surrendry of *Dunkirk* was. But here, Mr Bailiff, you must be careful; for all this is said in Raillery; for you may easily remember, that when the Town was first yielded to the Qu——, the Whigs declared it was of no Consequence at all, that the *French* could easily repair it after the Demolition, or fortify another a few Miles off, which would be

¹ *Vide* "The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty vindicated against the insolence of the Author of the *Guardian*; in a Letter to Mr Steele. By Country Whig."

of more Advantage to them. So that what Mr *St*—— tells you of the prodigious Benefit that will accrue to *England* by destroying this Port, is only suited to present Junctures and Circumstances. For if *Dunkirk* should now be represented as insignificant as when it was first put into Her Majesty's Hands, it would signify nothing whether it were demolished or no, and consequently one principal Topick of Clamour would fall to the Ground.

In Mr *St*——'s Answer to Monsieur *Tugghe's* Arguments against the Demolishing of *Dunkirk*, I have not observed any thing that so much deserves your peculiar Notice as the great Eloquence of your new Member, and his wonderful Faculty of varying his Style, which he calls,¹ *proceeding like a Man of great Gravity and Business*. He has Ten Arguments of *Tugghe's* to answer; and because he will not go in the old beaten Road, like a Parson of a Parish, *First, Secondly, Thirdly, &c.*, his manner is this,

In answer to the *Sieur's First*.

As to the *Sieur's Second*.

As to his *Third*.

As to the *Sieur's Fourth*.

As to Mr Deputy's *Fifth*.

¹ *Vide Steele's Letter, p. 31.*

As to the *Sieur's Sixth.*

As to this Agent's *Seventh.*

As to the *Sieur's Eighth.*

As to his *Ninth.*

As to the Memorialist's *Tenth.*

You see every Second Expression is more or less diversified to avoid the Repetition of, *As to the Sieur's, &c.*, and there is the Tenth into the Bargain: I could heartily wish Monsieur *Tugghe* had been able to find Ten Arguments more, and thereby given Mr *St*—— an Opportunity of shewing the utmost Variations our Language would bear in so momentous a Tryal.

Mr *St*—— tells you, That having now done *with his foreign Enemy Monsieur Tugghe, he must face about to his Domestick Foes, who accuse him of Ingratitude and insulting his Prince, while he is eating her Bread.*¹

To do him Justice, he acquits himself pretty tolerably of this last Charge: For he assures You, he gave up his Stamp-Paper-Office, and Pension as Gentleman-Usher, before he writ that Letter to himself in the *Guardian*, so that he had already received his Salary, and spent the Money, and consequently the *Bread was eaten* at least a Week before he would offer to

¹ *Vide The Examiner, No. 31.*

insult his Prince:¹ So that the Folly of the Examiner's objecting Ingratitude to him upon this Article, is manifest to all the World.

But he tells you, he has quitted those Employments to render him more useful to his Qu—— and Country in the Station you have honoured him with. That, no doubt, was the principal Motive; however, I shall venture to add some others. *First*, The *Guardian* apprehended it impossible, that the Ministry would let him keep his Place much longer, after the Part he had acted for above two Years past. *Secondly*, Mr *Ironside* said publicly, that he was ashamed to be obliged any longer to a Person (meaning Lord *Tr——r*) whom he had used so ill: For it seems, a Man ought not to use his Benefactors ill above two Years and a half. *Thirdly*, The *Sieur St——* appeals for Protection to you, Mr Bailiff, from *others* of your *Denomination*, who would have carried him *some where else*, if you had not removed him by your *Habeas Corpus* to St Stephen's Chapel. *Fourthly*, Mr *English Tory* found, by calculating the Life of a Ministry, that it hath lasted above three Years, and is near ex-

¹ In justice to Steele, it must be said that his explanation is quite unfairly paraphrased by Swift. *Vide* his *Letter*, p. 33, &c.

piring; he resolved therefore to *strip off the very Garments spotted with the Flesh*, and be wholly regenerate against the Return of his old Masters.

In order to serve all these Ends, your Burrough hath honoured him (as he expresses it) with chusing him to represent you in Parliament, and it must be owned, he hath equally honoured you. Never was Burrough more happy in suitable Representatives, than you are in Mr *St*—— and his Colleague, nor were ever Representatives more happy in a suitable Burrough.

When Mr *St*—— talked ¹ of *laying before Her Majesty's Ministry, that the Nation has a strict Eye upon their Behaviour with relation to Dunkirk*, Did not you, Mr Bailiff, and your Brethren of the Burrough presently imagine, he had drawn up a sort of Counter-Memorial to that of Monsieur *Tugghe's*, and presented it in form to my Lord Tr——r, or a Secretary of State? I am confident you did; but this comes by not understanding the Town: You are to know then, that Mr *St*—— publishes every Day a *Peny-paper* ² to be read in Coffee-houses, and get him a little Money. This by a

¹ *Vide Steele's Letter*, p. 39.

² *I.e. The Guardian.*

Figure of Speech, he calls, *laying Things before the Ministry*, who seem at present a little too busy to regard such Memorials; and, I dare say, never saw his Paper, unless he sent it them by the Penny-Post.

Well, but he tells you, he *cannot offer against the Examiner and his other Adversary, Reason and Argument without appearing void of both*. What a singular Situation of the Mind is this! How glad should I be to hear a Man *offer Reasons and Argument, and yet at the same time appear void of both!* But this whole Paragraph is of a peculiar Strain; the Consequences so Just and Natural, and such a Propriety in Thinking, as few Authors ever arrived too. *Since it has been the Fashion to run down Men of much greater Consequence than I am; I will not bear the Accusation.* This I suppose is, *to offer Reasons and Arguments, and yet appear void of both.* And in the next Lines;¹ *These Writers shall treat me as they think fit, as I am their Brother-Scribbler, but I shall not be so unconcerned when they attack me as an honest Man.* And how does he defend himself? *I shall therefore inform them that it is not in the Power of a private Man, to hurt the Prerogative, &c.* Well; I shall treat him only

¹ *Vide Steele's Letter, p. 40.*

as a Brother-Scribbler: And I guess he will hardly be attacked as an honest Man: But if his meaning be that his Honesty ought not to be attacked, because he *has no Power to hurt the Honour and Prerogative of the Crown without being punished*; he will make an admirable Reasoner in the House of Commons.

But all this wise Argumentation was introduced, only to close the Paragraph by haling in a Fact, which he relates to you and your Burrough, in order to quiet the Minds of the People, and express his Duty and Gratitude to the Queen. The fact is this; That *Her Majesty's Honour is in danger of being lost by Her Ministers tolerating Villains without Conscience to abuse the greatest Instruments of Honour and Glory to our Country, the most Wise and Faithful Managers, and the most Pious, disinterested, generous, and self-denying Patriots*; And the Instances he produces, are the Duke of Marlborough, the late Earl of Godolphin, and about two Thirds of the Bishops.

Mr Bailiff, I cannot debate this Matter at length, without putting you and the rest of my Countrymen, who will be at the Expence to Six-pence Charge extraordinary.¹ The D——

¹ The price of the pamphlet: *vide* note to title.

and Earl were both removed from their Employments; and I hope you have too great a Respect for the Queen, to think it was done for nothing. The former was *at the Head* of many great Actions; and he has received plentiful Oblations of Praise and Profit: Yet having read all that ever was objected against him by the *Examiner*, I will undertake to prove every Syllable of it true, particularly that famous Attempt to be General for Life. The Earl of *Godolphin* is dead, and his Faults may sojourn with him in the Grave, 'till some Historian shall think fit to revive part of them for Instruction and Warning to Posterity. But it grieved me to the Soul, to see so many good Epithets bestowed by Mr *St*—— upon the Bishops: Nothing has done more hurt to that Sacred Order for some Years past, than to hear some Prelates extolled by Whigs, Dissenters, Republicans, Socinians, and in short by all who are Enemies to Episcopacy. God, in his Mercy, for ever keep our Prelates from deserving the Praises of such Panegyrists!

Mr *St*—— is discontented that the Ministry have not *called the Examiner to Account as well as the Flying Post*.¹ I will inform you, Mr

¹ The *Flying Post* was a notorious whig paper, edited by George Ridpath, upon whose editorial misdeeds see Dunton's pamphlet, "Neck or Nothing."

Bailiff, how that Matter stands. The Author of the *Flying-Post* has thrice a Week, for above Two Years together, published the most impudent Reflections upon all the present Ministry, upon all their Proceedings, and upon the whole Body of *Tories*. The *Examiner* on the other side, writing in Defence of those whom Her Majesty employs in her greatest Affairs, and of the Cause they are engaged in, hath always borne hard upon the Whigs, and now and then upon some of their Leaders. Now, Sir, we reckon here, that supposing the Persons on both Sides to be of equal Intrinsic Worth, it is more Impudent, Immoral, and Criminal to reflect on a *Majority* in Power, than a *Minority* out of Power. Put the Case, that an odd Rascally Tory in your Borough should presume to abuse your Worship who, in the Language of Mr *St——*, is first Minister, and the Majority of your Brethren, for sending Two such Whig-Representatives up to Parliament: And on the other side, that an honest Whig should stand in your Defence, and fall foul on the Tories; would you equally resent the Proceedings of both, and let your Friend and Enemy sit in the Stocks together? Hearken to another case, Mr Bailiff; suppose your Worship, during your Annual Ad-

ministration, should happen to be kick'd and cuff'd by a parcel of Tories, would not the Circumstance of your being a Magistrate, make the Crime the greater, than if the like Insults were committed on an ordinary Tory Shop-keeper, by a Company of honest Whigs? What Bailiff would venture to Arrest Mr *St——*, now he has the Honour to be your Representative? and what Bailiff ever scrupled it before?

You must know, Sir, that we have several Ways here of abusing one another, without incurring the Danger of the Law. First, we are careful never to print a Man's Name out at length; but as I do that of Mr *St——le*: So that although every Body alive knows whom I mean, the Plaintiff can have no Redress in any Court of Justice. Secondly, by putting Cases; Thirdly, by Insinuations; Fourthly, by celebrating the Actions of others, who acted directly contrary to the Persons we would reflect on; Fifthly, by Nicknames, either commonly known or stamp'd for the purpose, which every Body can tell how to apply. Without going on further, it will be enough to inform you, that by some of the ways I have already mentioned, Mr *St——* gives you to understand,¹ that the Queen's

¹ *Vide* Steele's Letter, p. 43.

Honour is blasted by the Actions of Her present Ministers; that Her *Prerogative* is disgraced by erecting a dozen Peers, who, by their Votes, turned a Point upon which Your All depended; That these Ministers made the Queen lay down Her conquering Arms, and deliver Her Self up to be vanquish'd;¹ That they made Her Majesty betray Her Allies, by ordering Her Army to face about, and leave them in the Moment of Distress; That the present Ministers are Men of poor and narrow Conceptions, Self-Interested, and without Benevolence to Mankind; and were brought into Her Majesty's Favour for the Sins of the Nation, and only think what they may do, not what they ought to do. This is the character, given by Mr St—— of those Persons, whom Her Majesty has thought fit to place in the highest Stations of the Kingdom, and to trust them with the Management of Her most mighty Affairs: And this is the Gentleman who cries out,² *Where is Honour? Where is Government? Where is Prerogative?* Because the *Examiner* has sometimes dealt freely with those, whom the Qu—— has thought fit to *Discard*, and the Parliament to *Censure*.

¹ *Vide* Steele's Letter, p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

But Mr St—— thinks it highly dangerous to the Prince, *that any Man should be hindered from offering his Thoughts upon publick Affairs*; and resolves to do it, *tho' with the Loss of Her Majesty's Favour*. If a Clergyman offers to preach Obedience to the higher Powers, and proves it by Scripture, Mr St—— and his Fraternity immediately cry out, What have Parsons to do with Politicks? I ask, What shadow of a Pretence has he to offer his crude Thoughts in Matters of State? to Print and Publish them? *to lay them before the Queen and Ministry*? and to reprove Both for Male-Administration? How did he acquire these Abilities of directing in the Councils of Princes? Was it from ~~P~~ublishing¹ *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, and Writing now and then a *Guardian*? Was it from his being a Soldier, Alchymist, Gazetteer, Commissioner of Stamp Papers or Gentleman-Usher? No; but he insists it is every Man's Right to find fault with the Administration in Print, whenever they please: And therefore you, Mr Bailiff, and as many of your Brethren in the Borough as can Write and Read, may publish Pam-

¹ Swift uses O.E. letters here, by way of a hit at Steele's affectation in using the type in some of his title pages.

phlets, and *lay them before the Queen and Ministry*, to shew your utter dislike of all their Proceedings; and for this Reason, because you *can certainly see and apprehend with your own Eyes and Understanding, those Dangers which the Ministers do not.*

One thing I am extreamly concerned about, that Mr *St*—— resolves, as he tells you, when he comes into the House, *to follow no Leaders, but Vote according to the Dictates of his Conscience*; ¹ He must, at that rate, be a very useless Member to his Party, unless his Conscience be already cut out and shaped for their Service, which I am ready to believe it is, if I may have leave to judge from the whole Tenor of his Life. I would only have his Friends be cautious, not to reward him too liberally: For, as it was said of *Cranmer*, *Do the Archbishop an ill Turn, and he is your Friend for ever*: So I do affirm of your Member, *Do Mr St—— a good Turn, and he is your Enemy for ever.*

I had like to let slip a very trivial Matter (which I should be sorry to have done). In reading this Pamphlet, I observed several Mistakes, but knew not whether to impute them to the Author or Printer; till turning to the end, I found there was only one *Erratum*, thus

¹ *Vide Steele's Letter.* P. 46.

set down *Pag. 45. Line 28. for Admonition read Advertisement.* This (to imitate Mr *St——*'s Propriety of Speech) is a very *old* Practice among *new* Writers, to make a wilful Mistake, and then put it down as an *Erratum*. The Word is brought in upon this Occasion : To convince all the World that he was not guilty of Ingratitude, by reflecting on the *Qu——*, when he was actually under Sallery, as the *Examiner* affirms ;¹ he assures you, he *had resign'd and divested himself of all, before he would presume to write any thing which was so apparently an ADMONITION to those employed in Her Majesty's Service.* In case the *Examiner* should find fault with this Word, he might Appeal to the *Erratum* ; and having formerly been *Gazetteer*, he conceived he might very safely venture to *Advertise*.

You are to understand, Mr Bailiff, that in the great Rebellion against King *Charles I.* there was a Distinction found out between the *Personal* and *Political* Capacity of the Prince ; by the help of which, those Rebels professed to Fight for the *King*, while the great Guns were discharging against *Charles Stuart*. After the same manner Mr *St——* distinguishes between the *Personal* and *Political* Prerogative. He

¹ Steele's *Letter*. P. 45.

does not care to trust this Jewel *to the Will, and Pleasure, and Passion of Her Majesty*.¹ If I am not mistaken, the Crown-Jewels cannot be alienated by the Prince; but I always thought the Prince could *wear* them during his Reign, else they had as good be in the Hands of the Subject: So, I conceive, Her Majesty may and ought to *wear* the Prerogative; that it is Her's during Life; and She ought to be so much the more careful, neither to soil nor diminish it, for that very Reason, because it is by Law unalienable. But what must we do with this Prerogative, according to the Notion of Mr *St*——? It must not be trusted with the Queen, because Providence has given Her *Will, Pleasure, and Passion*. Her Ministers must not act by the Authority of it; for then Mr *St*—— will cry out, What? *Are Majesty and Ministry consolidated?*² *And must there be no Distinction between the one and the other?* He tells you,³ *The Prerogative attends the Crown*; and therefore, I suppose, must lie in the *Tower* to be shewn for Twelve pence, but never produced, except at a Coronation, or passing an Act. Well; but says he, *A whole Ministry may be Impeached and condemned by*

¹ Steele's *Letter*. P. 48.

² *Ibid.* P. 47.

³ P. 48.

the House of Commons, without the Prince's suffering by it :¹ And what follows? Why, therefore a single Burgess of *Stockbridge*, before he gets into the House, may at any time Revile a whole Ministry in Print, before he knows whether they are guilty of any one Neglect of Duty, or Breach of Trust.

I am willing to join Issue with Mr *St*—— in one Particular; which perhaps may give you some Diversion. He is taxed by the *Examiner* and others, for an insolent Expression, that the *British Nation Expects* the immediate Demolition of *Dunkirk*. He says,² the Word *EXPECT*, was meant to the *Ministry*, and not to the *Queen*; but that however, for *Arguments sake*, he will suppose those Words were addressed immediately to the *Queen*. Let me then likewise for Argument sake, suppose a very ridiculous Thing, that Mr *St*—— were admitted to Her Majesty's Sacred Person, to tell his own Story, with his Letter to You, Mr Bailiff, in his Hand to have recourse to upon Occasion. I think his Speech must be in these Terms.

MADAM,

I R——d St—— *Publisher of the Tatler and Spectator, late Gazetteer, Commissioner of Stamp Papers, and Pensioner to Your Ma-*

¹ Steele's *Letter*. P. 46.

² *Ibid.* P. 47.

jesty, now Burgess Elect of Stockbridge,¹ do see and apprehend with my own Eyes and Understanding, the imminent Danger that attends the Delay of the Demolition of Dunkirk, which I believe Your Ministers, whose greater Concern it is, do not: For, Madam, the Thing is not done, My Lord Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, my Fellow-Subjects, under whose immediate Direction it is, are careless, and overlook it, or something worse; I mean, they design to sell it to France, or make use of it to bring in the Pretender. This is clear from their suffering Mr Tugghe's Memorial to be published without punishing the Printer. Your Majesty has told us, that the Equivalent for Dunkirk is already in the French King's Hands; therefore all Obstacles are removed on the Part of France; and I, though a mean Fellow, give Your Majesty to understand in the best Method I can take, and from the Sincerity of my GRATEFUL Heart, that the British Nation EXPECTS the IMMEDIATE Demolition of Dunkirk; as you hope to preserve Your Person, Crown, and Dignity, and the Safety and Welfare of the People committed to Your Charge.

I have contracted such a Habit of treating

¹ Steele's *Letter*. P. 47.

Princes familiarly, by reading the Pamphlets of Mr *St*—— and his Fellows, that I am tempted to suppose Her Majesty's Answer to this Speech might be as follows.

Mr R——d St——, *late Gazetteer, &c.* *I do not conceive that any of your Titles empower you to be my Director, or to report to me the Expectations of my People. I know their Expectations better than you ; they love me, and will trust me. My Ministers were of my own free Choice ; I have found them Wise and Faithful ; and whoever calls them Fools or Knaves, designs indirectly an Affront to my Self. I am under no Obligations to demolish Dunkirk, but to the Most Christian King ; if you come here as an Orator from that Prince to demand it in his Name, where are your Powers ? If not, let it suffice you to know, that I have my Reasons for deferring it ; and that the Clamours of a Faction shall not be a Rule by which I or Servants are to proceed.*

Mr *St*—— tells you ; his *Adversaries* are so unjust, they will not take the least Notice of what led him into the Necessity of writing his Letter to the Guardian.¹ And how is it possible,

¹ *Letter*, p. 48.

any Mortal should know all his *Necessities*? Who can guess, whether this *Necessity* were imposed on him by his *Superiours*, or by the Itch of Party, or by the meer want of other Matter to furnish out a *Guardian*?

But Mr *St*—— has had a *Liberal Education*,¹ and *knows the World as well as the Ministry does*, and will therefore speak on whether he offends them or no, and though their *Cloaths* be ever so *New*; when he thinks his *Queen and Country is*, (or as a Grammarian would express it, *are*) *ill treated*.

It would be good to hear Mr *St*—— explain himself upon this Phrase of *knowing the World*; because it is a Science which maintains abundance of Pretenders. Every idle young Rake, who understands how to pick up a Wench, or bilk a Hackney Coachman, or can call the Players by their Names, and is acquainted with five or six Faces in the Chocolate-House, will needs pass for a Man that *knows the World*. In the like manner Mr *St*—— who from some few Sprinklings of rudimental Literature, proceeded a Gentleman of the Horse-Guards, thence by several Degrees to be an Ensign and an Alchymist,² where he was wholly conversant

¹ *Letter*, p. 50.

² Steele dabbled in alchemy, among his other hobbies;

with the lower Part of Mankind, thinks he *knows the World* as well as the Prime Minister; and upon the Strength of that Knowledge, will needs direct Her Majesty in the weightiest Matters of Government.

And now, Mr Bailiff, give me Leave to inform you, that this long Letter of Mr *St*— filled with Quotations and a Clutter about *Dunkirk*, was wholly written for the sake of the six last Pages, taken up in vindicating himself directly, and vilifying the Q— and Ministry by Innuendo's. He apprehends,¹ that *some Representations have been given of him in your Town, as, that a Man of so small a Fortune as he must have secret Views or Supports, which could move him to leave his Employments, &c.* He answers,² by owning he *has indeed very particular Views; for he is animated in his Conduct by Justice and Truth, and Benevolence to Mankind.* He has given up his Employments, because he *values no Advantages above the Conveniences of Life, but as they tend to the Service of the Publick.* It seems, he could not *serve the Publick* as a Pensioner,³ or Commissioner of

and is even said to have believed himself on the verge of discovering the Philosopher's Stone. His laboratory was at Poplar (?), v. Mr Austin Dobson's *Steele*, pp. 48-9.

¹ *Vide Steele's Letter*, p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³ *Cf. Steele's Letter*, p. 58.

Stamp'd Paper, and therefore gave them up to sit in Parliament out of *Charity to his Country*, and to contend for *Liberty*. He has transcribed the common Places of some canting Moralist *de contemptu mundi, et fuga seculi*, and would put them upon you as Rules derived from his own Practice.

Here is a most miraculous and sudden Reformation, which I believe can hardly be match'd in History or *Legend*. And Mr St——, not unaware how slow the World was of Belief, has thought fit to anticipate all Objections; he foresees that *prostituted Pens will entertain a Pretender to such Reformations with a Recital of his own Faults and Infirmities, but he is prepared for such Usage, and gives himself up to all nameless Authors, to be treated as they please.*

It is certain, Mr Bailiff, that no Man breathing can pretend to have arrived at such a sublime pitch of Virtue as Mr St—— without some Tendency in the World, to suspend at least their Belief of the Fact, till Time and Observation shall determine. But I hope few Writers will be so *prostitute* as to trouble themselves with *the Faults and Infirmities* of Mr St——'s past Life, with what he somewhere else calls the *Sins of his Youth*, and in one of

his late Paper's ¹ confesses to have been *numerous* enough. A shifting scrambling Scene of Youth, attended with Poverty and ill Company, may put a man of no ill Inclinations upon many Extravagancies, which as soon as they are left off, are easily pardoned and forgot. Besides, I think Popish Writers tell us, that the greatest Sinners make the greatest Saints; but so very quick a Sanctification, and carried to so prodigious a Height, will be apt to rouse the Suspicion of Infidels, especially when they consider that this Pretence of his to so Romantick a Virtue, is only advanced by way of Solution to that difficult Problem, *Why he has given up his Employments?* And according to the new Philosophy, they will endeavour to solve it by some easier and shorter way. For Example, the Question is put, Why Mr *St*—— gives up his Employment and Pension at this Juncture? I must here repeat with some Enlargement what I said before on this Head. These unbelieving Gentlemen will answer, First, That a new Commission was every day expected for the Stamp'd Paper, and he knew his Name would be left out; and therefore his Resignation would be an Appearance of Virtue cheaply bought.

¹ *The Tatler*, No. 129.

Secondly, He dreaded the Violence of Creditors, against which his Employments were no manner of Security.

Thirdly, being a Person of great Sagacity, he hath some Foresight of a Change from the usual Age of a Ministry, which is now almost expired ; from the little Misunderstandings that have been reported sometimes to happen among the Men in Power ; from the Bill of Commerce being rejected, and from some HORRIBLE EXPECTATIONS,¹ wherewith his Party have been deceiving themselves and their Friends *Abroad* for about two Years past.

Fourthly, He hopes to come into all the Perquisites of his Predecessor RIDPATH,² and be the principal Writer of his Faction, where every thing is printed by Subscription, which will amply make up the Loss of his Place.

But it may be still demanded, Why he affects those exalted Strains of Piety and Resignation ? To this I answer, with great probability, That he hath resumed his old Pursuits after the *Philosopher's Stone*,³ towards which it is held by all *Adepts* for a most essential Ingredient,

¹ *I.e.* of the Queen's death [she died in the following year].

² George Ridpath, of *Flying Post* fame, *vide* p. 256.

³ *Vide* note, p. 267.

that a Man must seek it meerly for the Glory of God, and without the least Desire of being rich.

Mr *St*—— is angry ¹ that some of our Friends have been reflected on in a Pamphlet, because they left us in a Point of the greatest Consequence; and upon that Account he runs into their Panegyrick against his Conscience, and the Interest of his Cause, without considering that those Gentlemen have reverted to us again. The Case is thus: He never would have praised them, if they had remained firm nor should we have railed at them. The one is full as honest, and as natural as the other: However, Mr *St*—— hopes (I beg you Mr Bailiff to observe the Consequence) that notwithstanding this Pamphlets reflecting on some Tories who opposed the Treaty of Commerce, *the Ministry will see Dunkirk effectually demolished.*

Mr *St*—— says something in Commendation of the Queen; but stops short, and tells you (if I take his meaning right) that he *shall leave what he has to say on this Topick; till he and Her Majesty are both dead.*² Thus, he defers his *Praises* as he does his *Debts*, after the Manner of the *Druids*, to be paid in another World. If I have ill interpreted him, it is his

¹ Steele's *Letter*, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

own Fault, for studying Cadence instead of Propriety, and filling up Nitches with Words before he has adjusted his Conceptions to them. One part of the Queen's Character is this, *that all the Hours of her Life, are divided between the Exercises of Devotion, and taking Minutes of the Sublime Affairs of Her Government.* Now, if the Business of *Dunkirk* be one of the *Sublime Affairs of Her Majesty's Government*, I think we ought to be at ease, or else she *takes Her Minutes* to little Purpose. No, says Mr *St—*, the Queen is a *Lady*,¹ and unless a Prince will now and then get drunk with his Ministers,² *he cannot learn their Interests or Humours*; but this being by no means proper for a *Lady*, she can know nothing but what they think fit to tell her when they are Sober. And therefore *all the Fellow-Subjects* of these Ministers must watch their Motions and *be very Solicitous for what passes beyond the ordinary Rules of Government*; For while we are foolishly *relying upon Her Majesty's Virtues*; These Ministers are

¹ P. 61.

² Queen Anne, however, had more than once to suffer by the state in which her ministers came for an audience. *Vide* Swift's 'History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne.'

taking the Advantage of encreasing the Power of France.

There is a very good Maxim, I think it is neither *Whig* nor *Tory*, that the Prince can do no wrong ; which I doubt is often applied to very ill Purposes. A Monarch of *Britain* is pleased to create a *Dozen Peers*, and to make a Peace ; both these Actions are, (for instance,) within the undisputed Prerogative of the Crown, and are to be reputed and submitted to as the Actions of the Prince : But as a King of *England* is supposed to be guided in Matters of such Importance, by the Advice of those he employs in his Councils ; whenever a Parliament thinks fit to complain of such Proceedings, as a publick Grievance, then this Maxim takes Place, that the Prince can do no wrong, and the Advisers are called to Account.¹ But shall this empower such an Individual as Mr *St*—— in his *Tatling* or *Pamphleteering* Capacity, to fix the ordinary Rules of Government, or to affirm that Her Ministers, upon the Security of Her Majesty's Goodness, are labouring for the Grandeur of France ? What ordinary Rule of Government is transgressed by the Queen's delaying the Demolition of *Dunkirk* ? Or what Addition is thereby made to the Grandeur

¹ *Vide Steele's Letter.* P. 62.

of *France*? Every Taylor in your Corporation is as much a *Fellow-Subject* as Mr *St*——, and do you think in your Conscience that every Taylor of *Stockbridge* is fit to direct Her Majesty and Her Ministers in *the sublime Affairs of her Government*?

But He *persists in it, that it is no manner of Diminution of the Wisdom of a Prince, that he is obliged to act by the Information of others.*¹ The Sense is admirable; and the Interpretation is this, that what a Man is forced to *is no diminution of his Wisdom*: But if he would conclude from this Sage Maxim, that, because a Prince *acts by the Information of others*, therefore those Actions may lawfully be traduced in Print by every Fellow-Subject; I hope there is no Man in *England*, so much a *Whig*, as to be of his Opinion.

Mr *St*—— concludes his Letter to you with a Story about King *William* and his *French Dog-keeper, who gave that Prince a Gun loaden only with Powder, and then pretended to wonder how his Majesty could miss his Aim: Which was no Argument against the King's Reputation for Shooting very finely.* This he would have you apply, by allowing Her Majesty to be a Wise Prince, but deceived by wicked Counsellors, who are in the Interest of *France*. Her

¹ *Vide Steele's Letter. P. 62.*

Majesty's Aim was Peace, which, I think, She hath not miss'd; and, God be thanked, She hath got it, without any more Expence, either of SHOT or POWDER. Her *Dog-keepers*, for some years past, had directed Her *Gun* against Her *Friends*, and at last *loaded* it so deep, that it was in danger to *burst* in Her Hands.

You may please to observe, that Mr *St*— calls this *Dog-keeper* a *Minister*, which, with humble Submission, is a gross Impropriety of Speech. The Word is derived from *Latin*, where it properly signifies a *Servant*; but in *English* is never made use of otherwise, than to denominate those who are employ'd in the Service of Church or State: So that the Appellation, as he directs it, is no less absurd, than it would be for you, Mr Bailiff, to send your 'Prentice for a Pot of Ale, and give him the Title of your *Envoy*; to call a Petty-Constable a *Magistrate*, or the Common Hangman a *Minister* of Justice. I confess, when I was choqued¹ at this Word in reading the Paragraph, a Gentleman offer'd his Conjecture, that it might possibly be intended for a Reflection or a Jest: But if there be any thing further in it, than a want of Understanding our Language,

¹ 'Choqued'—old form of 'shocked.'

I take it to be only a Refinement upon the old levelling Principle of the Whigs. Thus, in their Opinion, a *Dog-keeper* is as much a *Minister* as any Secretary of State : And thus Mr *St*—— and my Lord *Treasurer* are both *Fellow-Subjects*. I confess, I have known some *Ministers*, whose Birth or Qualities, or both, were such that nothing but the Capriciousness of Fortune, and the Iniquity of the Times, could ever have raised them above the Station of *Dog-keepers* ; and to whose Administration I should be loath to entrust a Dog I had any Value for : Because, by the Rule of Proportion, they who treated their *Prince* like a *Slave* would have used their *Fellow-Subjects* like *Dogs* ; and how they would treat a *Dog*, I can find no Similitude to express ; yet I well remember, they maintained a large Number, whom they taught to *Fawn* upon themselves, and *Bark* at their Mistress. However, while they were in Service, I wish they had only kept Her Majesty's DOGS, and not been trusted with Her GUNS. And thus much by way of Comment upon this worthy Story of King *William* and his *Dog-keeper*.

I have now, Mr Bailiff, explained to you all the difficult Parts in Mr *St*——'s Letter. As for the Importance of *Dunkirk*, and when it

shall be Demolished, or whether it shall be Demolished or not, neither he, nor you, nor I, have any thing to do in the Matter. Let us all say what we please, Her Majesty will think Her Self the best *Judge*, and Her Ministers the best *Advisers*; neither hath Mr *St*—— pretended to prove that any Law Ecclesiastical or Civil, Statute or Common, is broken, by keeping *Dunkirk* undemolished, as long as the Queen shall think best for the Service of Her Self and Her Kingdoms; and it is not altogether impossible, that there may be some few Reasons of State, which have not been yet communicated to Mr *St*——. I am, with Respect to the Borough and Your self,

SIR,

Your most Humble

and most Obedient Servant,

&c.

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